FBIS DAILY REPORT

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HOXHA CHAIRS 11TH AWP CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

AU151955 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Text] Communique on the 11th AWP Central Committee Plenum: The 11th AWP Central Committee Plenum met on 13-15 October 1981 under the chairmanship of Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, to examine and approve the reports to be presented at the Eighth AWP Congress. The plenum unanimously approved the report on the activity of the AWP Central Committee, which will be delivered at the Eighth AWP Congress by Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee; and the report on the directives of the Eighth AWP Congress for the Seventh 5-Year Plan for the development of the economy and culture of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, which will be delivered at the Eighth AWP Congress by Comrade Mehmet Shehu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee, delivered a speech at the conclusion of the plenum's meeting.

[Signed] The 11th AWP Central Committee Plenum

Tirana, 15 October 1981

ASSEMBLY GREETS CHINESE PEOPLE'S ASSEMBLY

AU091638 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 2 Oct 81 p 4

[Text] To the Standing Committee of the National People's Assembly of the PRC and to the Council of State of the PRC -- Beijing:

On the occasion of the national holiday of the PRC, we convey our greetings and best wishes to the Chinese people.

[Signed] The Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Tirana, 30 September 1981

OFFICIALS PAY RESPECTS AT EGYPTIAN EMBASSY

AU091944 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 9 Oct 81

[Text] Shefqet Peci, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, foreign trade minister Nedin Hoxha; Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Ksenofon Nushi; and Jovan Antoni, chief of the protocol branch of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, paid a visit to the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt and offered condolences to (Nasin Tauwfikazi), charge d'affaires ad interim of the Egyptian Embassy, on the death of Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

LLESHI GREETS MUHAMMAD AL-HASANI ON PDRY HOLIDAY

AU132022 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Haxhi Lleshi, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, has sent the following telegram to Ali Nasir Muhammad al-Hasani, chairman of the Supreme People's Council Presidium of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen:

On the occasion of your national holiday, I send you best wishes and greetings for the country's prosperity and the well-being of the friendly people of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and myself.

PZPR ACCEPTS SECRETARY KANIA'S RESIGNATION

Replaced by Jaruzelski

AU181613 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] According to the PAP agency, at today's PZPR Central Committee session, Stanislaw Kania asked to be relieved of his post as PZPR Central Committee first secretary. The Central Committee accepted the request, PAP reports. The Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum elected Wojciech Jaruzelski PZPR Central Committee first secretary.

'Firm and Principled Position'

AU181934 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] The PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended in Warsaw today. During the debates, those who took the floor criticized the PZPR leadership for lack of concrete actions and measures in defense of Poland's socialist social system. Our special reporter Borislav Chamdzhiev reports from Warsaw:

[Begin recording] The third day of the plenum's work produced important decisions, which according to the first commentaries here, must strongly influence the future activity of the party and the country's situation. Dealing with the agenda's last point -- organizational matters -- the plenum accepted the resignation of Stanislaw Kania from his post as PZPR Central Committee first secretary. Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected in his place. Thus the last point of the agenda was exhausted.

Today the plenum unanimously adopted a programmatic decision which determines the tasks of all PZPR members, the party organizations and institutions against the background of the country's economic and political situation. The plenum also adopted an appeal to the working people in the cities and villages, which a short while ago was read on Polish radio by Jerzy Romanik, PZPR Central Committee Politburo member. The two documents call for active and concrete actions on the basis of Poland's socialist regime, and for leading the country out of the continuous crisis. The document firmly stresses the necessity of stopping the provocational attempts of Solidarity's present leadership to create a situation of tension and anarchy in Poland. These decisions conform with the atmosphere which existed in the party organizations prior to the plenum. At these organizations the need for a firm and principled position of the party in the present tense situation was firmly declared. [end recording]

ANDREY LUKANOV RETURNS FROM MOSCOW CEMA SESSION

AU161809 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Andrey Lukanov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Bulgaria's permanent representative to CEMA, who had attended the 101st session of the CEMA Executive Committee, returned home from Moscow today.

TANZANIAN MILITARY DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU171600 Sofia BTA in English 1430 GMT 17 Oct 81

["Tanzania's Military Delegation Leaves" -- BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA) -- A delegation of the armed forces of the United Republic of Tanzania led by Lieutenant-General Abdallah Twalipo, defence minister, was on a visit to Bulgaria. The delegation was received by Mr Grisha Filipov, chairman of the Council of Ministers. After the talks the Tanzania's delegation had with a Bulgarian military delegation, a document on extending the ties and cooperation between the Bulgarian and Tanzanian armies was signed.

ECONOMIC PROTOCOL SIGNED WITH NICARAGUA

AU171558 Sofia BTA in English 0820 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA) -- A protocol on the talks the delegations of Bulgaria and Nicaragua had on questions related to trade and economic cooperation was signed here. The document provides for a number of concrete measures for expanding the trade, for rendering assistance to Nicaragua in transport and construction. Machinery and equipment, complete projects and industrial goods prevail in Bulgaria's export list. Nicaragua is to export coffee, cotton, sesame and molasses, etc to Bulgaria.

The document was signed by Mr Khristo Khristov, Bulgaria's foreign trade minister and by Mr Alejandro Martinez, Nicaragua's foreign trade minister.

During his stay in Bulgaria the guest was received by Mr Andrey Lukanov, vice-chairman of the Ministerial Council.

DULBOKOV-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR CUBA

AU171826 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] A delegation of the Fatherland Front National Council led by Sava Dulbokov, first deputy chairman of the National Council, has left for Cuba to attend the Second Congress of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution in Cuba and the Fourth Congress of the National Fronts of the Socialist Countries and of the public organizations of the countries marching along a socialist path of development.

TANCHEV RECEIVES SYRIAN PEACE COMMITTEE

AU172012 Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 17 Oct (BTA) -- Mr Petur Tanchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Agrarian Union, first vice-president of the State Council, received today a delegation of the Syrian Peace Committee, led by Mr Ahmed al-Hassan, the committee's vice-chairman and member of the regional leadership of the Ba'th Party.

At the meeting the great significance of the world peace movement and the part it plays in strengthening the process of detente and in developing the cooperation between the peoples was stressed.

High assessment was given to the "for detente, for peace and social progress" international meeting -- dialogue which was held in Sofia as the most wide representative forum of the peasant and the kindred democratic parties and organizations.

During the meeting concern over the explosive situation in the Middle East was expressed.

The meeting, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, was also attended by Mr Georgi Dimitrov-Goshkin, chairman of the National Committee for Defending Peace.

GRIGOROV-LED DELEGATION RETURNS FROM SRV

AU181937 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] On 18 October, the Bulgarian delegation led by Mitko Grigorov, deputy chairman of the State Council, returned from the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. The delegation took part in the celebrations marking Bulgaria's 1,300th anniversary. At Sofia Airport the delegation was greeted by Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council, and other officials. [Name indistinct], SRV charges d'affaires in Bulgaria, was also at the airport.

ZHIVKOV RECEIVES AMBASSADORS OF TOGO, BURMA

AU181958 Sofia BTA in English 1840 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 18 Oct (BTA) -- Today Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of the State Council of Bulgaria, received Mr Lassiss Kerim-Dikeni, Togo's newly appointed ambassador here, who presented him his credentials.

"Bulgaria esteems highly Togo's contribution to the struggle for doing away with the last remnants of colonialism, racism and the apartheid on the African Continent, her active participation in the Organization of African Unity and in other international organizations which is aimed at achieving these goals," said Mr Todor Zhivkov at the ceremony, emphasizing that Bulgaria and Togo's coincidence of stands on these matters.

The two governments' wish and readiness to develop Bulgaro-Togolese relations and to expand their cooperation was underlined.

Today Mr Todor Zhivkov received also the credentials of Mr U Maung Maung, Burma's newly appointed ambassador to Bulgaria.

The two countries' conviction was expressed that Bulgaro-Burmese expanding and strengthening of relations is to be in the two peoples' advantage and in the interests of world peace and international cooperation.

INTERNATIONAL SCIENCE CONFERENCE ENDS IN VARNA

AU161659 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] The international conference of chiefs of scientific research departments of the Central Committees of the communist and workers parties from Bulgaria, Vietnam, the GDR, Greece, Spain, Italy, Cuba, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, the Soviet Union, the FRG, France, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Switzerland ended at the Druzhba Resort in Varna today. Georgi Atanasov, BCP Central Committee secretary, also participated in the work of the conferences. Those attending the conference heard reports on the development of Marxist-Leninist theory in the documents of the congresses of the fraternal communist and workers parties. Information was exchanged on the activity of the fraternal scientific departments in elaborating topical problems in Marxist-Leninist theory and the parties' history, and the trends toward future bilateral and multilateral scientific cooperation were discussed.

LEADERS ATTEND ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATIONS

AU161938 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Summary] Celebrations marking the 1,300th anniversary of the foundation of the Bulgarian state were held throughout the country today. "A celebration devoted to the unveiling of a great monument in honor of the creator of the Bulgarian state, Asparukh, was held in Tolbukhin. Grisha Filipov, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers, was also present." Filipov delivered a speech emphasizing the peace-loving nature of the Bulgarian man and his desire for creative work and goodneighborliness. Following this, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee and Todor Zhivkov, he unveiled the monument as well as a memorial complex, Khan Asparukh, and the new Yordan Yovkov Theater, also in Tolbukhin.

"Pencho Kubadinski, BCP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council, today also unveiled a sculpture dedicated to Khan Isperikh in the town of Isperikh. He then visited Razgrad and cut the ribbon at the 'Fraternal Tomb' memorial complex."

Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, today cut the ribbon of the new building of the Dimitur Naydenov publishing house in Veliko Turnovo.

POLISH DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED, CRITICIZED

Kania Resignation Noted

LD181622 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, tendered his resignation at today's meeting of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw. The party Central Committee has accepted the resignation.

Wojoiech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of national defense, has become the new first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

Jakes Receives PZPR Delegation

LD161452 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, today received a study delegation of the PZPR Central Committee, led by a secretary of the Provincial Party Committee in Szczecin, (Sztefan Maximov). In the course of a friendly meeting they exchanged experiences from party work in the implementation of the policy of the two fraternal parties. Comrade Jakes assured the Polish delegation of our support in its complicated struggle for the strengthening of socialism in Poland.

Polish Party Plenum

LD161736 Prague CTK in English 1506 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Oct (CTK) -- Polish United Workers' Party First Secretary Stanislaw Kania read a report on the political situation in Poland and the key tasks of the party in fulfilling the resolutions of the 9th party congress at today's session of the party Central Committee. He pointed to the activities of the anti-socialist forces which stir chaos, prevent the consolidation of forces around the party and protract the crisis.

A report on problems and trends of the party's ideological activities was delivered by party Politburo member and Central Committee Secretary Stefan Olszowski.

Polish Editor Views Crisis

LD161742 Prague CTK in English 1508 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 16 Oct (CTK) -- The mobilization of party activists, working out of a comprehensive plan of the party's political work and its consistent realization -- this is the key to a way-out of the Polish crisis, chief editor of the Polish weekly RZECZYWISTOSC Henryk Tycner said during his recent visit to Czechslovakia. In an interview for the Czechoslovak weekly, TRYBUNA, he stressed that the government and the party in Poland must regain their trustworthiness by consistently and unequivocally defending and pushing through all principles and general laws of the socialist system, by stemming counterrevolution and consistently struggling against it.

In Poland there are ever more communists and party organizations openly declaring that they will not remain indifferent to the activity of "Solidarity" and antisocialist forces, Henryk Tycner said, and added that even some "Solidarity" organizations in plants have lately been changing their stands and seeking a platform for cooperation with their party organizations and branch trade unions. "The 'Solidarity' leadership and anti-socialist forces are making every effort to prevent any expression of stabilization and calm. For them, calm means death and they are well aware of it. This is why they seek to keep the society in permanent tension and to deepen the crisis," Henryk Tycner said.

He pointed out that many workers in Poland are still under the influence of "Solidarity" organizations and their functionaries use moral terror against anybody expressing disagreement with them or criticizing them.

The situation in Poland is ever more clear -- "Today it is quite obvious that counterrevolution is realizing its aims step by step," Henryk Tycner said and added that what is happening in Poland, what is done by antisocialist forces in "Solidarity's" leadership and in various other counterrevolutionary organizations, runs counter to the interests of the working class, counter to the interests of the whole country. "We must struggle against this both as communists and as Poles," Henryk Tycner said.

There are also other factors contributing to this situation -- weak points in the ideological work of the party in the past period, breaches of the Leninist norms of the party work, and the protracted settling of matters concerning the people who had caused grave mistakes in the previous period.

"In the past year the government and party bodies adopted a number of resolutions to improve the situation, but these resolutions are not being implemented. Party and state bodies are issuing statements, but they are not followed by any concrete deeds; continuous concessions are misleading the masses and, what is most tragic, this policy leads to the loss of authority of state and power bodies and to a considerable extent also of party bodies. Their stands are ceasing to be trustworthy," Henryk Tycner said, stressing that this is the basic problem.

Solidarity 'Rightwing' Aims

LD181228 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0830 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Editor Jiri Cedrovsky review of past week's world events]

[Excerpt] Poland is facing a difficult winter: This is how one could sum up as briefly as possible the content of reports that have reached our editorial office by way of teleprinters and telephones. What is much more difficult to discern, however, is what various observers regard as more important, the difficulties of an economic or a political character. Nevertheless, the fact is that many plants were at a standstill during the past week, with their workforces on strike. A further decline in output was recorded and a more acute shortage of market goods, particularly foodstuffs, was manifested. The outlook for the Polish power industry, according to a number of reports is very gloomy. As Stanislaw Kania said at the fourth meeting of the PZPR Central Committee, such a decline is unprecedented in postwar history.

The more the economic and social outlook of Poland is unclear, the greater we are able to record the activity of the so-called Solidarity. Its rightwing element in particular is continuing along a line designed to aggravate the crisis with the aim of creating conditions to enable it to take over political power. As some speakers stated at the fourth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee, the rightwing element within Solidarity has banked on an economic catastrophe in Poland. The so-called Solidarity rejected one anticrisis plan of the government after another while advancing instead a proposal on forming some kind of a social council for the national economy. Despite the length of the proposal a mere first glance at it shows clearly the real aim of the so-called Solidarity: initially to assume government powers in certain aspects, only to replace the government totally in the end; to create a totalitarian dictatorship of the so-called Solidarity in Poland.

The Polish Council of Ministers did not accept the propositions, proposing instead the establishment of a joint commission for overcoming socioeconomic problems. It is only to be expected that the stance adopted by the Council of Ministers will merely prompt further provocative and even more furious attacks by the so-called Solidarity. Under these circumstances, as some speakers pointed out at the Fourth Polish Communists' Plenum, it is essential that the party goes over to an ideological and organizational offensive, that is, restoring its authority, and that the party and state leadership cease to be indecisive and inconsistent. As Kazimierz Skware, a miner, told the plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, society not only expects but directly demands resolute actions.

Reaction to PZPR Decisions

LD190956 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 19 Oct 81

[By Frantisek Sojka in Warsaw]

[Text] Does the beginning of this week entail the beginning of a new stage of development in the situation in Poland? This is a question that millions of inhabitants of this turbulent country, which is in a profound economic crisis, are undoubtedly asking themselves now. I had an opportunity to talk to some of my Polish friends last night, but they all were somewhat restrained in their forecasts of future developments. No wonder! Many voivodships have been hit by strikes or are under the threat of strikes by Solidarity, and the selfsame organization has come up with a demand to establish some kind of a supragovernment -- naturally under its control.

In this situation it was only understandable that voices emerged at the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum demanding that concessions to Solidarity end and that the party go over to the offensive. Speakers talked about the lack of contacts between the leadership and primary organizations in plants, starting with voivodship committees. They criticized inconsistency in the implementation of previously adopted resolutions.

It is not only party members who feel that the Solidarity leaders' counterrevolutionary activity is threatening the foundations of the existence of socialist Poland. This is also expressed in a programmatic resolution adopted at the 4th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which speaks of brutal attacks against the party, manifestations of anti-Sovietism and the use of picketing -- all of which the antisocialist forces intend to use to silence views that stand in their way. The session also confirmed the already previously known fact that Solidarity had unilaterally violated the previously adopted agreements and now wants to impose its demands on the government and the Sejm. Also telling is a Central Committee appeal to the working people of towns and villages which stresses that hiding behind those who organize strikes today are the enemies of the working people, people who want to overthrow the people's government and who are willing to drag the country to national calamity.

It is difficult to say anything specific about the further development of the situation. However, one thing is certain, and that is that the vicious circle of continuous demands on one side and declining output on the other must be broken. It is equally necessary to erect a firm barrier against the further escalation of the Solidarity leaders' counterrevolutionary activity.

Solidarity Congress: 'Threat'

AU151740 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 81 p 6

[Commentary by Warsaw correspondent Jan Lipavsky: "Guantlet Thrown to People's Power; On the 'Solidarity' Congress and Its Program"]

[Text] The 'Solidarity' congress in Gdansk, which was held in two stages and lasted almost 3 weeks, confirmed the victory of extremist forces in this organization, whose program is the liquidation of socialism in Poland. It marked a victory for political adenturism, which is also manifested in the program that was adopted by the congress by a majority of votes. The ideological and political influence of the antistate KOR organization fully asserted itself at the Gdansk session and in its results and, thereby, also the goals of imperialist forces were manifested in the so-called step-by-step strategy, in the strategy of a "quiet" counterrevolution.

In its 10 October session, the Presidium of the Polish People's Republic's Government expressed concern over the results of the congress, which cannot be evaluated in any other way but as a program that runs counter to the conclusions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and the Polish Government's program and activity. It is a guantlet thrown down to the party and the government in the struggle for power, no matter what words about democratizing social and production relations are used to justify it.

Who "Represented" Whom and How

Who are the people that convened in the Gdansk Oliwia Hall? Only 20 percent of delegates to this assembly were members of the workers class. As to their political beliefs, the delegates formed a colorful ideological and political conglomerate. They included numerous members of antistate illegal organizations such as KOR or the Confederation for an Independent Poland, as well as admirers of Pilsudski's dictatorship. Most of them comported themselves at this get-together as people who have nothing in common with the workers class, even though they were to "represent" it. The atmosphere that was established and prevailed during the deliverations in Oliwia Hall was one of fanaticism and demagogy. Under those conditions, the participants were manipulated from behind the scenes according to the already written script and political needs.

It is known that the conditions prevalent in "Solidarity's" regional organizations are reminiscent of the conditions in the former Polish principalities, which were headed by a magnate with unlimited jurisdiction who ruled his subjects with an iron and merciless hand.

As we were able to observe, such methods were evident also at the Gdansk get-together. Many of its participants looked at the whole world from high up, with aloofness, speaking about the Polish Government and the PZPR with a fair degree of arrogance.

Counterrevolutionary Propositions

The elections of the National Consultative Commission were elections of "Solidarity's" political line as formulated at the congress and outside it. As is evident from the adopted program, the line of political adventurism and the method of permanent political confrontation with people's power -- which is to result, according to "Solidarity's" theoreticians, in a change of this power's nature -- prevailed.

In Proposition No 18 the authors of the program wrote that the "social, political and cultural pluralism of world outlook must be the basis of democracy in the self-governing Polish society," that Polish society should choose among various programs (that means between the party's and Solidarity's [published without quoatation marks] program, and that "if the crisis is to be overcome, political and economic power must be separated" (which means that also in the economic sphere state power should be gradually liquidated).

In keeping with this is the resolution of the congress in which "Solidarity" members are enjoined to IMMEDIATELY [capitalized word published in wide-spaced type] set up special committees in enterprises, which are designed to take over full control of all production processes and distribution (excluding economic and state bodies from those activities). The law on self-management adopted by the Sejm was noted merely as a project about which "Solidarity" will organize a referendum in the enterprises. "Solidarity" approaches this action as a means of confrontation, placing its own decision above the law.

The arrogance of the authors of "Solidarity's" program toward the organs of people's power goes so far that the congress holds a knife to the Polish Government's throat. It gives the Council of Ministers a "chance" to agree, within a fortnight, with the conditions contained in "Solidarity's" resolution on the issue of prices. Otherwise new strikes will be staged. The congress called for "new" elections to the Sejm and the National Councils, in which the National Unity Front's list of candidates would be shut out. Allegedly, also "groups of citizens standing outside the National Unity Front" should be able to run for the posts of deputies; the aim is thus to push through members of KOP, the so-called Confederation and so forth.

But that is not all. The 21st proposition of the "Solidarity" program refers to the need to establish a "second chamber" of the Sejm, which "Solidarity" would like to control. Territorial self-administration bodies, too, ought to be established under its auspices. It is not difficult to infer that their objective would be to take over the authority and jurisdiction of the National Councils....

In Gdansk, doubts were openly being cast on the Polish People's Republic's ties of alliance; some delegates made respect for those ties contingent on "Solidarity" acquiring the possibility to check [revidovat] the state's defense expenditures. They also insisted that "Solidarity" must have the possibility of checking all trade and economic agreements with the allies and the Soviet Union in particular.

"Solidarity" also made haste to form its own "shadow cabinet." The new "ministers" in the National Consultative Commission have already been appointed, respectively elected. Everyone has his own sector. As far as the "Solidarity government" is concerned, the so-called government of national salvation, it is to be made up of both experienced "Solidarity" functionaries and church dignitaries.

This organization wants to be a state within the state. It is even establishing its own "diplomatic missions" in the West, so-called information bureaus -- in the United States for example. All this is coordinated with various reactionary trade unions and all kinds of "charitable" organizations in the West. Between December 1980 and July 1981, 32 "Solidarity" delegations visited various capitalist countries seeking political and material assistance as well as "consultations." This "international" activity reached its pinnacle with the adoption of the "message to the nations of Eastern Europe," which represents an overt attempt to export counterrevolution to other socialist countries.

However, what the "Solidarity" congress demonstrated above all was that its course and results represent a grave threat to the existence of the socialist system in Poland.

MLADA FRONTA VIEWS CIA'S USE OF 'OPEN SOURCES'

AU151838 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 14 Oct 81 p 4

[Jan Minar article: "Electronic Spies"]

[Excerpts] Present-day intelligence service consists primarily of an extensive scientific-research apparatus. It makes greater use of the present possibilities of gathering, studying and classifying freely accessible and legal information than of secret espionage methods.

"Open sources" are those which no country in this century of scientific-technical revolution and "information explosion" can do without: newspapers and magazines, radio and television, national and international exhibitions, book exchange, international cultural exchange and so forth. However, what matters is to what ends the imperialist state use these sources.

Work with legal information sources witnessed its greatest upswing in the postwar years in the United States. Reputable authorities in the field of espionage activity such as Allen Dulles, Kent, Farago, W. McGovern and many others wrote special research papers about the great importance of this branch of intelligence activity to justify the immense expenditures connected with it.

According to the American authors, the study of generally accessible sources of foreign states is organized in such a way in the United States as "not to disregard anything that is accessible and of potential use." W. McGovern, for example, says about its importance: "It is very difficult to express in terms of figures, but I think that in the process of preparing a strategic decision only 20 percent of the basic information is acquired from secret sources, whereas 80 percent comes from legal sources." L. Farago mentions an even higher percentage of intelligence information acquired from open sources -- 90 percent.

Grain for the Intelligence Service's Mill

The CIA is the center where the miscellaneous openly published literature, purchased in many countries of the world, is gathered and processed. "All this literature, which is designated for the public," Allen Dulles wrote, "is something like grain that must be ground in the intelligence service's mill." It is natural that this requires an enormous, efficient apparatus equipped with the latest technology.

All economic, political, military, scientific and technical information about socialist countries that the CIA receives from various sources is concentrated in its data administration, which receives an average of 100 to 150 fresh pieces of information of intelligence character a day. Here, this material is graded and processed with the help of electronic machinery and then it is studied by experts. In the course of 24 hours, the CIA's so-called monitoring service receives and records some 6 million words in 60 languages.

The enormous extent of the CIA's work with legally accessible sources requires flexible and perfect methods of processing, storing and utilizing data, which rapidly become outdated and lose their value.

According to data from the beginning of the sixties, the CIA had at its disposal an electronic translation machine capable of translating texts of a medium grade of difficulty from Russian into English at a speed of 30,000 words an hour. This work should otherwise require several dozen highly qualified translators.

All data received by the CIA are recorded on punched cards. When a CIA employee needs to acquaint himself with literature on some specific issue, he gives the electronic brain a list of (some 25) key words on the subject he is interested in. The machine locates the material, which is recorded on microfilm, copies it via ultra-violet rays, and projects the photographs thus obtained with the help of a special apparatus.

The American espionage services' interest in intelligence data about other countries has now become so universal that, according the view of American experts, it can be satisfied only by making comprehensive use of all possibilities for acquiring information, including, naturally, freely accessible sources. The intelligence agencies' equipment with the latest devices of electronic and computer technology enables them to rapidly utilize the information obtained from literature that is published for the general public and, on this basis, to effectively draw up intelligence prognoses and set specific tasks for other types of intelligence activity.

Our Degree of Responsibility

The utilization of freely accessible materials frees the espionage service's forces for more complicated and responsible tasks that can be fulfilled only by illegal means and which justify the risk with which they are fraught.

The utilization of freely accessible sources of information by foreign intelligence services represents a grave danger for every state. Not a single country, if it does not want to harm its own development, can afford not to publish various papers, articles and data. However, it is within our forces to prevent foreign intelligence services from engaging in legal intelligence activity and thereby harming our country's interests. That can be achieved, among other things, by knowing the methods of work employed by the intelligence services.

At the same time we could not commit a greater error than to imagine the CIA and the entire U.S. intelligence "community" in general merely as agencies of espionage and counterespionage.

In the hall of the CIA's building in Langley, the visitor is welcomed by the following words engraved in marble: "...and thou will know the truth and the truth will make thee free." How ironically do these words of the Gospel sound here! It is not truth and freedom that is being sought behind the wall that bears this inscription. Acts of subversion and espionage are being prepared here, and psychological warfare against the socialist countries is being planned and coordinated here.

That is why a great deal depends on the degree of responsibility of each of us toward society, on the knowledge of the methods of the work employed by the imperialist espionage centers and on our skill to exercise self-restraint where there is no reason to be needlessly open, where talkativeness in any form is dangerous!

CHNOUPEK HOLDS TALKS WITH LIBYA'S AT-TURAYKI

AU151722 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Oct 81 pp 1, 2

[Text] Prague, 13 Oct (CTK) -- At the Cernin Palace in Prague on Tuesday, talks began between Bohuslav Chnoupek, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, and 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki, the secretary for foreign affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, who arrived for an official friendly visit to Czechoslovakia that day.

Their subject was implementation of the results of the talks held between Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary and Col Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the leader of the Libyan revolution.

The two counterparts depicted Comrade Gustav Husak's recent visit to Libya as an historical milestone in the development of mutual relations. They emphasized the significance of the traditional friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Libya, and of the agreements which were signed between the two countries. At the same time they expressed interest in an early conclusion of further contractual documents. They noted with satisfaction that the mutual political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural relations are developing dynamically and are reaching even higher levels.

When assessing topical issues of international politics, Bohuslav Chnoupek and 'Ali 'Abd as-Salam at-Turayki noted the fact that the aggressive course of imperialism, especially of the United States, to act from a position of strength is aimed at harming the interests of both socialism and the developing countries, especially those which have embarked upon the path of progressive orientation. The two representatives regard as especially significant the fact that from the platform of the 36th UN General Assembly session a strong call also resounded for improving the complex international situation.

They devoted great attention to the developments in the Arab region, where the acts committed by international imperialism have been escalating tension even more. In that connection they condemned the U.S. provocations toward Libya, whose aim is to intimidate the Libyan people and divert them from their revolutionary path. They also affirmed their countries' solidarity with the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine for the right to self-determination and establishing their own independent state. They noted Washington's attempts to escalate the tension in the Middle East and exploit the present situation in Egypt for further asserting American power interests.

INDRA, DELEGATION END VISIT TO ALGERIA

Departure Reported

LD161538 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Excerpt] The delegation of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, led by Alos Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Federal Assembly, concluded today its official friendly visit in Algiers. The delegation was seen off at Algiers International Airport by the chairman of the Algerian National People's Assembly, Rabah Bitat, and by other representatives of the highest Algerian legislative body and of political and public life.

Indra Comments Cited

LD171842 Prague CTK in English 1642 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Algiers, 17 Oct (CTK) -- "Our visit here contributed to the strengthening and further development of traditionally good relations between Czechoslovakia and Algeria," Alois Indra, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, said at the end of his visit here in an interview with a CETEKA correspondent.

He pointed out that the two countries expressed their concordance in views on the main international problems, on the strengthening of cooperation among socialist countries and world forces in the fight for peace, progress, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, Zionism and racism. He said that the exchange of information about the present development in the political, economic and other spheres of life in the two countries was useful.

Alois Indra further underlined the dynamic development of independent Algeria and achievements of its people.

WOMENS INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION CONGRESS OPENS

LD150030 Prague CTK in English 1944 GMT 14 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 14 Oct (CTK) -- The 8th Congress of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) opened here Wednesday.

The congress takes place immediately after the end of the World Congress of Women and is attended by representatives of WIDF member organizations. Since its foundation in 1945, the WIDF has been struggling for equal rights for women, happy life and preservation of peace in the world.

In her opening speech, the president of the WIDF, Freda Brown, stressed that it is impossible to separate the fight for equal rights for women from the struggle for national independence and peace. She underlined that the main task of the WIDF is to mobilize all efforts for the fight against the nuclear war and to join all peace forces to form a movement which could not be ignored. She said that the arms race is accompanied by brutal oppression in many countries and deprives women of health, freedom and work. The fight for disarmament will be the main content of the WIDF [words indistinct] Brown said, and pointed out that the final documents of the World Congress of Women will be a starting point also for the WIDF activity.

PZPR SECRETARY KANIA REPLACED BY JARUZELSKI

PAP Cited

LD181436 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1426 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] PAP reports that Stanislaw Kania offered his resignation on Sunday afternoon from the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The Central Committee accepted his resignation.

Grzyb Speaks, 17 Oct

LD171740 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1255 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Warsaw, 17 Oct (ADN) -- The Fourth Plenary Session of the PZPR Central Committee continued today. Yesterday the proceedings were opened with speeches by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee and Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee.

According to PAP, one of the speakers in today's debate was Sofia Grzyb, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo. "As all of you know, I am a member of the Radoskor factory 'Solidarity,;" she said. "I joined this trade union in the hope that it would be more active in protecting the living and working conditions of the people. I expected the Solidarity congress to take a critical view of past mistakes and guide this mass organization in carrying out genuine trade union activities. It turned out differently. By the end of congress, I was convinced that I belonged to an opposition political organization fighting against the people's power. I must admit, however, that in my factory Solidarity does, in principle, fulfill the function of a defender of the workers, the function of a trade union. If the activity of Solidarity could be assessed solely within the parameters of my factory, I would be active in this trade union. However, as a member of the party and of its leadership, I cannot make my assessment dependent solely on the factory trade union organization. That is why I decided to resign from Solidarity. If I were to remain in this organization, I would be part of not only the good things that are being done in our factory, but also all that the extremist forces in the national and regional leaderships of this union are doing."

Sofia Grzyb said that critical remarks are being addressed to the leadership of the party because of its failure to translate the decisions of the ninth congress into reality. Many critical assessments about the course of events have been made at Politburo meetings, and the impression could be gained that an economic situation like the one prevailing at present will not be tolerated. But things are getting worse all the time. Production is dropping, shelves in the shops are empty, food is in short supply and the party has not taken action. People do not feel that the party leadership is giving them any support and no longer believe that there is a way out of the crisis. The ordinary party members expect resolute action by the Politburo and the government. Sofia Grzyb said that as a worker and member of the party leadership she is dissappointed, for it is a fact that actions by the party and state leadership have brought about no apparent results. How much longer will the government confine itself to statements and words?, she asked.

Congratulations From Honecker

LD181944 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1902 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 18 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, has sent a message of good wishes to the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, on his election as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. It says:

"On your election as first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee I send you warm greetings and good wishes on behalf of the SED Central Committee. We are pleased that by its decision the PZPR Central Committee has placed at the head of the party a comrade who, by his selfless work for the cause of the PZPR, the Polish working class and the Polish people, has made a major contribution to People's Poland and its international standing.

The message goes on: "On behalf of SED members and all citizens of the German Democratic Republic I wish to assure you, Polish communists and all true Polish patriots, of our full solidarity in solving the great tasks decided upon at the fourth pelnum of the PZPR Central Committee. As in the past so in the future too the SED will strive to strengthen the fraternal militant alliance of our parties and to deepen, in conformity with the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance, the friendship between our people, which is of great historic importance, I wish you success and vigor in your responsible post."

POZNAN SEMINAR CALLS ON PZPR TO DEFEND SOCIALISM

LD181805 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1435 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Oct (ADN) -- The Poznan Forum of Communists at its meeting on Friday addressed a resolution to the PZPR Central Committee meeting calling on the party leadership to take determined action in defense of socialist Poland, TRYBUNA LUDU reports today. Prof Stanislaw Wykretowicz of the Institute of Political Sciences of the Adam Mickiewicz University said that the forum had repeatedly drawn the attention of the party leadership to the fact that Solidarity wanted to maintain tension and dismantle the economy. In this situation the avowed aim must be to involve all forces of society in joint efforts to overcome the crisis.

In the debate the demand was made that the party should part company with all people who infringed on the party's statute. The forum adopted the name of 'Marxist-Leninist Seminar'.

MINISTER HERBERT WEIZ ARRIVES IN CUBA

LD161532 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0845 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Havana 16 Oct (ADN) -- A GDR delegation, led by Dr Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister for science and technology, arrived in Cuba on Thursday on a 6-day working visit. They were cordially welcomed at Havana's Jose Marti Airport by Wilfredo Torres Iribar, president of the Cuban Academy of Sciences.

The talks will focus on the further deepening of cooperation between the GDR and Cuba in the fields of science and technology.

FDJ'S KRENZ CONTINUES VISIT TO NICARAGUA

AU151412 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Oct 81 p 2

[Summary] Managua (ADN) -- On the second day of its visit to Nicaragua, the FDJ delegation headed by Egon Krenz, first secretary of the FDJ Central council, visited the museum of the national hero, General Sandino. "Apart from that, FDJ representatives also participated in mass rallies at which tens of thousands of patriots enthusiastically denounced the danger of a U.S. intervention in Nicaragua." The exchange of ideas continued between the FDJ delegation and the national leadership of the Sandinist "19 July" youth organization. In a talk with Carlos Carrion, member of the National Secretariat of the Sandinist National Liberation Front (FSLN) and general secretary of the Revolutionary Youth Association of Nicaragua, Egon Krenz expressed the GDR youth's respect for the achievements of the Nicaraguan people.

SINDERMANN INTERVIEWED ON TALKS IN DENMARK

LD161048 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 2110 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Interview with Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and deputy chairman of the Council of State, by special correspondent Monika Hansch, on 15 October in Copenhagen -- recorded]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Sindermann, the immediate purpose of your visit to Denmark was to extend the contracts between the parliaments of both states. To this purpose you had a number of meetings with deputies of the Folketing. How do you now assess the state of relations after your 4-day visit to Denmark?

[Answer] Relations between the parliaments have continued to develop over recent years, but I think that our visit did create a certain climax in the relations. First, we got to know many people personally, many people with different opinions, of different parties, and everywhere one could see that they want to strengthen further relations with the GDR [words indistinct] spoke openly about everything; we know where we differ in opinions, but we also know that we must cooperate. That became clear on both sides. And we are leaving with the certainty that these parliamentary relations will expand further.

[Question] During your visit you had an intensive talk with the Danish premier, Ankar Jorgensen. Questions of bilateral cooperation were discussed there. How do you assess the present relations between the GDR and Denmark?

[Answer] We were in agreement that these relations have much improved since the establishment of diplomatic relations, of course, differently in different fields. There are good relations in the joint political consultations between the foreign ministers, or the deputy foreign ministers as the case may be; a firm platform has been built for these relations in the expansion of trade, where the turnover has doubled in the last 2 years, Here, we have also seen in Danish industry an interest in further expanding these trade relations, and Anker Jorgensen is also of the opinion that we have to cooperate in this area, for example in third markets, as well as deepening them in other fields, such as cultrual relations, meetings between ministers of both our states, between organizations such as the trade unions and others; that is to say, fostering these talks and emphasizing in this way that we do not want the international tensions which are being created by one side to burden our relations. This can also be seen on the other side.

[Question] During your visit in Denmark there was repeated mention of agreement in points of view. How far does this exist on current issues?

[Answer] We are agreed that the policy of the arms race and of increased armament cannot have any further. There is only one course: One must negotiate. The Danish Government, and our government, are of the opinion that these negotiations have matured and that the negotiations which are now starting between the Soviet Union and the United States have to lead to concrete results. Because in Denmark, too, one feels the burden of military expenditure. This can be seen in the budget. I do not think that a country such as Denmark, or any other country, can carry out this policy of continuously increasing defense expenditures without cutting down on welfare expenditures. This is not popular with any government.

FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER CONCLUDES VISIT

Meets With Goldenbaum, 16 Oct

LD161544 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1304 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Oct (ADN) -- Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Varyrynen, who is visiting the GDR at the invitation of GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer, had a friendly meeting today with chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany, Ernst Goldenbaum and other representatives of the party.

Ernst Goldenbaum and Paavo Vayrynen, who is also chairman of the Finnish Center Party, paid tribute to the long-standing fruitful cooperation between the two parties.

They both reaffirmed their firm determination to continue to shape cooperation to make a contribution to the safeguarding of peace and the continuation of detente in Europe. They oppose efforts to negate the positive results of the seventies through a policy of confrontation and arms buildup.

Today the Finnish foreign minister also visited Erhard Krack, the mayor of the GDR capital, and signed the city's golden book.

Vayrynen Departs

LD161660 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] [No dateline received] Foreign Minister of the Republic of Finland Paavo Vayrynen ended his official visit this afternoon. GDR Minister of Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer bade him a cordial farewell at Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport.

HONECKER RECEIVES MEXICAN AMBASSADOR 16 OCT

LD161540 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1347 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 16 Oct (ADN) -- The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, Erich Honecker, today received Dr Ricardo Guerra Tejada, extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of the United Mexican States, for a talk. The ambassador brought a personal message from the president of the United Mexican States, Jose Lopez Portillo. Dr Guerra also conveyed most cordial greetings from the Mexican head of state, which were reciprocated in the same manner.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND CITES NATIONAL DAY GREETINGS

AU142027 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] To your excellency Mr Erich Honecker, GDR State Council chairman, Berlin:

It gives me pleasure to use the opportunity of your republic's anniversary to convey to you, excellency, on my own behalf and on behalf of the Egyptian people the most sincere and most cordial congratulations, along with my best wishes for your health, happiness and well-being and for the constant progress and continuous prosperity of your friendly people.

The telegram bears the signature of Egyptian President Muhammad Anwar as-Sadat, who meanwhile has been assassinated.

Tudeh Party Greetings

AU141508 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10-11 Oct 81 p 7

[Text] To the SED Central Committee

Dear comrades, on the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the establishment of the GDR, the first worker-peasant state in German history, we would like to most cordially congratulate you. The GDR's establishment was a turning point in European history and marked the beginning of a new chapter in the history of the German people. The achievements of the GDR in the past few decades in the political, economic and cultural fields, among others, are remarkable. This is a fact which is not even denied by enemies of the GDR, enemies of peace and progress.

We wish you still more successes in building the developed socialist society, in the struggle for peace, understanding among peoples and disarmament, in the struggle for a free, progressive life for all peoples in the world.

With socialist greetings,
[Signed] Central Committee of the Iranian Tudeh Party, first secretary, Nuroddin Kianuri.

PZPR'S KANIA RESIGNS, JARUZELSKI DESIGNATED

LD181624 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1600 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] The first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee has resigned. Stanislaw Kania's resignation was accepted at today's meeting of the Central Committee. Kania was elected first secretary in September last year and reelected by the extraordinary congress in July this year. The Central Committee plenum issued an appeal today to the population of the country and warned that only a joint effort by all segments of society can succeed in preventing a dramatic turn of events.

TASS has just reported in a news flash from Warsaw that army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski has been elected first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

MAGYAR HIRLAP VIEWS END OF SOLIDARITY CONGRESS

LD132048 Budapest MTI in English 1706 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 13 Oct (MTI) -- "Those who expected from the Solidarity congress, which ended last week, to make a turn in the direction of trade union character, to call on the workers to resume honest work and hoped that as a result of the long-desired internal purge the leadership of Solidarity has finally become really ready to consider the genuine interests of the country and cooperate as partner in soonest possible elimination of the economic crisis must be bitterly disappointed", reads an article in Tuesday's MAGYAR HIRLAP.

The full text of the program of Solidarity has not been published. However, certain items like "Political Pluralism", "New Bill on Elections", the chapter referring to obtaining control over the mass media, "New Bill on the Operation of the Police", are already known. The organization is planning to set up "social tribunals" to punish the persons who are responsible for the "destruction" of the country, reads the article adding: "Such tribunals would be the forums of showdown with the communists and save every leader of Solidarity the trouble of having to account for their activities which unleashed the political and economic anarchy".

"Solidarity rejects the anti-crisis economic [word indistinct] program of the government on whose (?elaboration) it too assisted".

"There remains hardly any doubt after the Gdansk conference in which direction Solidarity is going". True that Jurczyk, Gwiazda and Rulewski, who are called "radicals" in the West, were defeated by Walesa, not even the person of Walesa can guarantee the trade union character of Solidarity. As he puts it, he is different from his mates only inasmuch as he proposes to attain his goal by "small steps", by using alternately pressure and dialogue as means. But as far as the final goal, the crushing of the people's power is concerned, he is apparently on the same platform with his comrades.

"The future of Poland, however, is not up to Solidarity alone. Peculiar expectation precedes the forthcoming meeting of the PUWP CC. It has become acutely urgent that the Polish communists and true Polish patriots face up to the challenge represented by the leadership of Solidarity with an effective action program", ends the commentary in MAGYAR HIRLAP.

MARJAI TALKS WITH TALYZIN, RETURNS FROM MOSCOW

LD161334 Budapest MTI in English 1043 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 15 Oct (MTI) -- As it was reported, Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Jozsef Marjai and N.V. Talyzin, vice-chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, had talks at the meeting of the CMEA Executive Committee held in Moscow on Thursday. Jozsef Marjai returned from Moscow Thursday evening.

OVARI ADDRESSES SOVIET SOCIETY CONFERENCE

LD171948 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 17 Oct (MTI) -- Miklos Ovari, member of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee, addressed the 7th national conference of the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society which, as we reported earlier, has opened here today.

"Fostering our friendship with the Soviet Union and enhancing our internationalist cooperation is a constant and essential element of the home and foreign policies pursued by our party and government," he said. "This friendship was forged in common battles, and our people will never forget how the Soviet people brought them freedom through immense sacrifice in 1945."

In the present international situation ridden with tensions and dangers, the speaker said, Hungary's entire people, along with all the world's progressively thinking people, watch with anxiety the trend of aggressivity and overt violence which has resumed gaining ground in the United States policy. "The tenser international atmosphere today," he added, "makes even clearer to us that our friendly and allied relationship with the Soviet Union, the unity and cohesion of the socialist countries and our joint action against the concerted policy of imperialism is in our fundamental national and international interests.

"Our close cooperation with the Soviet Union is not only a foreign political issue for us. Our relations fulfill an irreplaceable role in building our socialist society and handling our economic, cultural and scientific affairs. Enhancing the Hungarian-Soviet friendship and internationalist collaboration represents a cornerstone of the policy of our party and government," said Miklos Ovari.

"The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party has been a patriotic and international party right from its formation. It builds its policy on the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of socialist construction and the concrete conditions and national traits prevailing in Hungary. Our country's post-liberation history saw great results serving the good of our people at [word indistinct] when the above demands were met, and we shall not forget that this indispensable also for the current and future success of our society-building work. We hold it important that the sound national mind and the idea of internationalism come to dominate more and more the thinking and action of our people. Building an advanced socialist society calls for people in whose eyes the love of the socialist homeland is inseparable from the internationalist feeling.

"Our party and people continue to rely on the priceless Soviet experience," said Miklos Ovari.

MAGYAR HIRLAP ON FUTURE EGYPTIAN FOREIGN POLICY

AU161316 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 15 Oct 81 p 2

[Levente Soos article: "As-Sadatism Without As-Sadat?"]

[Text] As was to be expected, Husni Mubarak has been elected the new president of Egypt. He stated shortly after As-Sadat's death that, if he were elected president, he intended to continue on the track of his predecessor and would remain loyal to the Camp David agreement and the alliance with the United States. He repeated and reaffirmed this at his talks with U.S. Secretary of State Haig and Israeli Prime Minister Begin, who attended As-Sadat's funeral, as well as in his inaugural speech at the parliament.

Thus, he has made those statements very hastily and resolutely, which is, in many respects, understandable, above all, because As-Sadat had set the country politically onto a pro-American track to such a great extent that this would not be easy to change.

Incidentally, the Egyptian minister of defense has said that As-Sadat's assassination was the act of an isolated group that has no supporter and backer either in the army or the various social classes. Although this seems to be contradicted by armed clashes between the opposition movement of the Muslim Brotherhood and government troops in some Egyptian cities and some minor bombings in the capital, it is true that Egypt is still calm at the moment.

One should also note in this connection the tremendous pressure that has been brought to bear on the present Egyptian leadership. As is known, the U.S. Government has decided to accelerate arms shipments to Egypt and stage a large-scale joint maneuver with it. The Soviet Government has condemned the expansion of U.S. military presence in the area and termed it overt intervention in Egyptian domestic affairs. The Reagan government's goal is obvious: It wants to prevent by any means the same fate from happening to Egypt that happened to Iran; it does not want to lose this Middle East base as well.

In developing his policy, Mubarak must also take next April into consideration: that is when the Israeli-occupied Sinai Peninsula should be returned to Egypt. A possible change of As-Sadat's policy would obviously prevent the return of this territory, because, although there is no reason for suspicion regarding Egyptian foreign policy at the moment, the situation is not devoid of risk as far as Israel -- and the United States -- are concerned. As-Sadat himself was the paramount Egyptian "guarantor" of the Camp David agreement. The loss of him could by all means act as a factor of uncertainty in the subsequent fate of the Camp David agreement.

It would not be surprising if, after a certain time, Mubarak would gradually dissociate himself from a few features of As-Sadat's policy and more firmly draw closer to such conservative Arab countries as, for instance, Saudi Arabia, which would like to play a key role -- in U.S. interests -- in resolving the Middle East crisis. If the conclusion is true that As-Sadat was a victim of the separate peace, that is, if, in the last analysis, his assassination was related to the internal dissatisfaction caused by Egypt's isolation from the Arab countries, then the new Egyptian leadership, primarily for domestic political reasons to disarm the opposition, will be obliged to take certain steps sometime to lessen that isolation. In that, an important complementary role could be played by Saudi Arabia, whose crown prince recently announced an 8-point plan for a Middle East settlement as an alternative to Camp David. This plan includes the recognition of Israel and the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

Mubarak begins with an almost clean slate: The separate peace with Israel is not tied to his name, but primarily to the name of As-Sadat. The Egyptian Army has now pledged allegiance to him. However, it is also known that part of the officers' corps has never approved of As-Sadat's fraternization with Israel. And we do not know into what the Muslim Brotherhood movement, whose armed men organized the Assyut disturbances the other day, could develop. However, one thing we do know: The anti-imperialism of the so-called Islamic fundamentalists has played a decisive role in the Iran turnabout.

Will there be As-Sadatism without As-Sadat in Egypt? Although it is too early to answer this question, we can venture to say as much as there hardly will be in the long run, because As-Sadat's death has, in any case, put the acute tensions of the area, including Egypt's role, into a new perspective.

EAGLEBURGER MEETS WITH OFFICIALS 17 OCT

LD172000 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. assistant secretary of state for European affairs, has paid a short visit to Budapest. He discussed bilateral relations and international questions with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Karoly Szarka. The American politician has been received by Frigyes Puja, minister of foreign affairs; Janos Berecz, head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee; and Istvan Torok, state secretary for foreign trade.

FOURTH PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM: 16 OCT SESSION

Kania Opening Comments

LD162030 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Excerpt] Good afternoon. We are bringing you a report on many important and significant events which are of interest to all Poles. Of course, the greatest attention of all Polish people is concentrated on the PZPR Central Committee plenary session. The session is in progress and here is our correspondent's first account:

[Begin recording] The session began at 1000. The subjects discussed cover the political situation in the country, an assessment of the implementation of the decisions of the Ninth PZPR Congress and the ideological and educative tasks of the party. The session is chaired by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the Central Committee.

[Kania] Esteemed comrades, on behalf of the Politburo, I welcome you to the fourth Central Committee plenary session. Our proceedings are accompanied by a raised temperature in the party and in the nation. We all know the reasons why. We propose to include in the agenda an examination of the political situation in the country and the key tasks of the party in the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress: This is the first subject for debate and the Politburo has entrusted me with presenting the subject at this session. Item two of the agenda concerns certain problems and directions in ideological-educative activities of the party with regard to the present situation. This second subject is to be presented at the session by Comrade Stefan Olszowski. Are there any comments on the subject of the agenda?

[Unidentified voice] I am a member of the Central Committee and a worker at the Marceli Nowotko foundry at Ostrowsk Swietokrzyskie. I propose the inclusion in the agenda of another item: assessment of the work of the Politburo and organizational matters. I would like to propose that during discussion of this item, only Central Committee members should be present.

[Kania] A proposal has been submitted to supplement the agenda with another item: an assessment of the work of the Politburo, and as proposed here by the comrade who has just spoken, on the subject. Should we add this item to the agenda? [assenting voices in the background]

Yes. Is anyone against the proposal? [brief silence] No, no one. In view of this, we adopt the agenda in its supplemented version. It is assumed that the plenary session will hold its proceedings today and tomorrow. We also propose the adoption of resolutions on the subjects discussed at the plenum: that of appointing a commission to draw up a long-term party plan and that of setting up a team for the preparation of the comprehensive history of the Polish workers' movement. Relevant drafts will be submitted to you, comrades. We also intend to present proposals concerning the plan for plenary sessions of the Central Committee. Information has been circulated, in the form of auxiliary material, dealing with the work of the Politburo. [end recording]

Kania Delivers Report

LD161940 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1806 GMT 16 Oct 81

["Extensive excerpts" of report entitled "The Political Situation in the Country and Key Tasks for the Party in Implementing the Ninth PZPR Congress Resolutions" delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, at the first day of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 16 October -- recorded]

[Text] Comrades, slightly less than 3 months ago we were leaving the congress hall after the conclusion of the ninth congress deliberations full of concern about the state of our country; but we were leaving satisfied that a good program of socialist renewal, of recovery of the party's strength, a program for emerging from the crisis and for the path of the country's development was the result of the deliberations. We were leaving with optimism and convinced that the congress work was supported by the party membership and by wide circles of society.

There are numerous proofs to confirm that the congress met with a fine public response. This concerns both the climate of the debates and the general program orientation. No one as yet has presented any other realistic alternative for organizing social life and for overcoming the economic crisis. Thus there arose a great opportunity to unite for this purpose and to multiply the efforts of the nation.

However, shortly after the congress we were already encountering a series of conflicts and tensions. Antisocialist forces were deliberately organizing a plan to undermine the significance of the congress and its resolutions; to counter it with actions leading to disorientation and chaos, complicating the consolidation of forces around the party in order to overcome the crisis. There were strikes and demonstrations; various forms of exerting pressure on the authorities were suggested. The most dangerous phenomenon was the organizing of the so-called hunger marches, days without press, and other forms of collective protest. The calm on the Polish streets was disturbed.

The Central Committee raised its voice with alarm but also with resolution on this subject at its second plenum.

An anti-Soviet campaign, alien to the feelings and interests of our nation, was launched on a broad scale. Acts of desecration of cemeteries and monuments in gratitude to Soviet solders who fell fighting for the liberation of our country have taken place. Unfortunately, this dirty literature is published not only by various illegal groups but also by numerous Solidarity cells. [sentence as heard] Thus this is a consciously planned activity. This is why the CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government had full grounds for the firm protest which is contained in the known statement presented to our party and government.

There are no signs yet of an improvement in the economic situation; quite the opposite. In many areas difficulties are further increasing. Industrial production in the last 9 months was 13.5 percent lower in comparison with the same period last year. In comparison with 1977 the created national income decreased probably by a fourth. Our export possibilities are still extremely limited and increasingly smaller. The consequences are painfully affecting all the economy, restricting the import of raw materials and materials for industrial and agricultural production and, as a result of this, supplies on the home market.

We are not meeting international obligations, including contracts and cooperation agreements of many years' standing with both socialist countries and with countries of the West. This drastically limits import possibilities. Several measures have been taken which are aimed at improving the market situation by means of import purchases and at accelerating the development of the production of goods in shortest supply.

A rise in prices of bread, cereal products and cigarettes has been introduced. The point of these decisions amounts to the fact that bread should cease to be a cheap fodder article. This is surely why there was not enough of it for the population. The rise in cigarette prices will reduce their consumption and will deprive them of the characteristics of convertible currency collected not by smokers but for profit purposes. Agriculture has yielded better production results than last year. A good potato harvest will form a basis for fully meeting the needs of the population and of industry, and it will also form the basis for the development of meat production.

The cereal and fodder yields are also higher. Despite this, we will purchase at least 7 million tons of grain and fodder from abroad. The assessment of the sugar beet harvest will enable an increase in the average supplies of sugar to the population. Despite the price increase for pigs for slaughter, procurement is rising only insignificantly. This is very important, because the difficulties on the meat market are serious. Therefore, one must still count on great market difficulties. The essence of the matter lies in this: that the increase in the incomes of the urban and rural population is occurring when supplies of agricultural produce and industrial goods are dropping. There is more and more money on the market but fewer and fewer goods. Therefore, the free market prices are rising and the phenomenon of speculation is growing to dangerous dimensions.

Both the construction industry and the countryside are complaining of a lack of cement and of other materials. This is because production is falling in those places as a result of the lack of coal. For this reason, too, housing construction is going poorly. This acutely restricts the number of new dwellings and enormously extends the waiting period, for young families.

It must be said openly that alongside the disorganization of production and services, as a result of various kinds of strike action, exceptionally harmful consequences for the marekt in the sphere of supplies to the population and in economic life as a whole were brought about by the forced wage increases, going far beyond the possibilities of the goods supply. One can see with the naked eye today's harmful consequences of the premature, [word indistinct] unprotected by economic and organizational measures, the introduction of free Saturdays. The negative effects of the forced decision on the issue of coal extraction are increasingly clear. This is being felt by all sectors, including trade and services.

And so, in these difficult conditions, the right wing of Solidarity is continuing to block all successive anticrisis measures by the authorities. It is inspiring that blockade in a planned and conscious way. It is causing many workforces to allow themselves to be drawn into a campaign ruining an already weakened economy. At first, the lack of a real, convincing report on the state of the economy was mentioned. When it was compiled, published and taken note of, the assessments and recommendations contained in it were ignored. Aggressive criticism was, however, leveled against the lack of an anticrisis plan to stablize the economy. When such a plan was worked out by the government, [word indistinct] outstanding specialists and then accepted by the Seum, the paralyzing of its implementation began. One can point out many examples. The most indicative, and key significance for the whole national economy, is the issue of coal extraction. No reasons or arguments can justify halting the increase in extraction in the face of the country's enormous needs and the threats of the approaching winter. These people who are doing this evidently want the country to live in the dark and cold, and factories to come to a standstill for lack of power. What value have declarations, appeals and promises which we hear every so often from the Solidarity leaders when, in practice, their activity can be viewed as blocking successive anticrisis moves? This is no longer the sum of isolated incidents but a line for inciting conflict on new issues all the time, in new areas. Let us say this openly: This is a line for worsening the crisis, in order to create conditions for taking over political power.

If, then, it is true to say that the source of the sociopolitical crisis was, to a great extent, the pre-August economic errors, then today it is true to say that at the source of the post-August worsening of the economic situation lie, to a decisive extent, political reasons, caused by the realization of the [word indistinct] slogan: the worse the better.

This has to be said clearly because it is the truth. Anti-socialist forces, striving to realize their political goals are banking on an economic and market catastrophe. The proofs confirming this assessment are too many. Everyone should be aware of that fact, aware of the vital need to reverse the course of events that are so dangerous to the nation.

Comrades, an important event in the life of the country that aroused great interest was the first Solidarity congress. That interest is understandable, because the genesis of that organization is known. Its influence on the nature of tensions is also known, as are the ambitions of its various leaders. Finally, the organization has considerable strength. At the Central Committee's third plenary session, we expressed both our justified fear and the social expectations regarding the Solidarity congress. We all know that it is not a homogeneous organization. While it is basically composed of workers, there is no lack in the various Solidarity cells of groups with anarchistic views and attitudes. However, it is no secret that the union is being penetrated by extreme rightwing forces and has become a safe haven for all of Polish reaction, and a training ground for counterrevolutionary forces and groups who do not conceal that their aim is to overthrow socialism.

For that reason, too, it was very important to see which trend would gain the upper hand in Solidarity, and which would set the tone of Solidarity's deliberations, its program and the composition of its leadership. Unfortunately, the results of the first round of the congress gave no cause to calm public opinion. On the contrary, the actual lack of constructive proposals and, the complete opposite, a series [word indistinct] brutally interfering in the powers of the constitutional organs of authority and the internal affairs of fraternal socialist countries were the cause for a further serious rise in social and political tension.

This situation,dangerous for the bases of our national and state existence, was assessed by us in the Politburo statement. We maintain that assessment in its entirety. The Council of Ministers took an unambiguous stand. Our premier, Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski, appealed to Solidarity from the Sejm platform for a change in the previous line. Words of disquiet in connection with the Solidarity congress were expressed by the supreme authorities of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD). Despite the fact that the worker trend in the trade union made itself known in the second part of the congress -- a trend with which the voices of (?a few) other activities often concurred -- all of the congress deliberations were dominated by the intention to undermine the constitutional foundations of the system of government. Evidence of this is seen in the open strivings by Solidarity extremists to violate the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements and to make Solidarity into an opposition political organization. Under the slogan of a loosely-defined self-governing republic, the intention is to overthrow socialism in Poland.

It is an unknown practice in the world for a trade union to claim the right, as Solidarity does, to represent the entire nation and to be exclusively (?right).

These totalitarian ambitions and intolerance which was manifested at the congress with regard to everything which does not fall in line with Solidarity cause that organization to be the main brake on socialist renewal and the main threat to the stabilizationof the Polish state instead of one of the driving forces of socialist renewal. Despite the claim of having more realistic views, the congress defined levels for confrontation in various areas in the economic sphere with irresponsible adventurism. A specific line of action was adopted on the main area for struggle against the socialist system -- workers' self-management.

This line oscillates between threatening to boycott the Sejm law and planning to exploit the law to realize Solidarity's goals. An aspiration to effect a general exchange of the leading cadres of the economy for people with links to Solidarity found expression at the congress session. Such a move would simultaneously deprive the party and the state authorities of any influence at all over the cadres' policy in this area.

In the ideological sphere, primary stress was placed on negating the achievement of People's Poland. Under the slogan of removing the lies from history, an inflammatory campaign against Polish-Soviet relations is developing. This is accompanied by an attempt to rehabilitate the leading bourgeois politicians and those ideas which led Poland to its doom. The functioning of the mass media is recognized as one of the fronts of the struggle: subordinating the media to political and ideological goals.

Resolutions were also adopted that aim at increasing influence on young people. It was decided to interfere with the program of teaching history, the Polish language and social sciences through destructive actions directed against the socialist youth unions. It is significant that Solidarity is comprised of workers, (?yet) in its declaration the union cuts itself off from the 100 years of tradition of the Polish workers' movement and refers to the ideological heritage of the opponents of the workers' movement.

Amendments have been introduced into the Solidarity statute. It emerges from these amendments that the union is transforming itself into a mass organization with a large degree of centralization and discipline which, as we know, is often forced. The attitude of the congress to our party was very significant. With one exception, everyone who made his party membership apparent had no chance of being elected to the supreme authorities. The same applied to ZSL and SD activists. The need to create a front against the PZPR, as against an organization which ostensibly is without roots in the national tradition, was stated. This attitude is expressed with regard to a party which has the tradition and the merits of uniting (?victoriously) in the struggle against Hitlerism and the struggle for revolutionary social transformations.

After all, it is the party which defines the form of socialist renewal and creates the guarantees against new crises and new social conflicts from ever appearing again. Against this background, is not the dissolution of KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and the handing over of its heritage to Solidarity especially telling? The report of this action was received with an ovation at the congress. The character of KOR is known in Poland as well as beyond its borders, as is the character of its organizers and their aims. Thus, what does the congress' recognition of KOR, the election of its activists and the activists of the KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland] mean to the union authorities? There were no hindrances and restrictions to this. So what is it a matter of here? The truth is that the goal of these very sabotage groups is to fully control Solidarity and transform it into an opposition political party.

The congress gave expression to the way it wants to shape the international position of Solidarity and Poland's position in the world. Only facts count. It is on such a basis that the Central Committee ought to make assessments. Let cool, careful analysis be binding here. Thus, what was meant by the message to the working people of East Europe, overlooking the union structures existing in them, and by the call for them to imitate Solidarity? Does not this lack of an invitation to the trade unions of the socialist countries to attend the congress speak for itself? Yet at the same time there was broad participation by the extreme rightwing union headquarters of the capitalist countries. Is there not a connection between the demand for a considerable reduction in the frugal Polish defense expenditure, (?compared with) the arms of the West, between the anti-Soviet campaign conducted by the official links of Solidarity, and the unusually lavish material aid for this organization from the reactionary centers of the West? So what is the issue here? One cannot interpret this any other way than this: Solidarity, active in People's Poland, demonstrates by means of its leading groups, its ideological affiliation to another world -- the West. Such a concept is foreign to workers' views and interests. It is the way to Poland's doom.

The contemporary world is divided by the line of the fundamental contradictions of our times: It opposes the capitalist forms of organization of the economy and supports the aspirations of the peoples to solve the problems of social justice on the basis of socialism. That line of fundamental contradiction is, at the same time, the line of the fundamental division between the political systems of the world.

People's Poland, from the moment of its birth, came out in favor of the socialist path of development; of belonging to the system of the socialist states; and of friendship and close cooperation with all of our neighbors, the countries of the socialist community.

All actions leading toward a violation of friendshiop, cooperation, and alliance with the socialist countries, particularly with the Soviet Union, constitute not only a violation of the ideological and political assumptions of our party, but also strike directly at the fundamental interests of the state and the nation. More -- they are a betrayal of these interests; they contradict elementary commonsense, and they contradict the nation's instinct for self-preservation.

It is necessary to put this question to Solidarity: Does it know to which world it belongs? To a world which -- meticulously seeking new paths and solutions of the political order -- subordinates everything to the cause of peace and socialism; or to that which pushes humanity toward an increase in the arms race, behind which are hidden capitalist profits, and the desire to oppose the (?ideas) of socialism.

Between these two worlds, governed by diametrically opposed scales of values, there is no transitional zone under the Polish conditions, no blurred line. Meanwhile, the Solidarity congress, holding its debates in Poland's Gdansk, behaved as though the matter of Poland's belonging to the community and alliance of the socialist states was a matter for discussion.

In matters concerning the foundations of the security of the state and the nation, there is no and cannot be any discussion. States and nations do not live in political vacuums, but in real political systems which guarantee them this security. It is, therefore, no coincidence that both the socialist and the capitalist states in Europe have linked their security precisely with military systems: the Warsaw Pact and the Atlantic Treaty.

But the security of the contemporary world is not only restricted to the military sphere of this issue. It embraces most of the spheres of economic, political and social life. I will speak more simply and clearly so that there should be no misunderstanding: The logic of the political order, the logic of its internal coherence and efficacy of action, does not allow the introduction into the state organism, to the public life of the country, systems which are ideologically hostile toward us. We cannot allow this.

Matters have become more clear. The views of the extremist forces, the counterrevolutionary forces, are gaining an ever more dominant influence on Solidarity: They have gained a dominant influence on the union's program and on its basis political motifs. It was through their actions that the Solidarity congress became a challenge to the party, to the people's power, to all the forces of socialism. It is they who are moving toward transforming Solidarity into a political party opposed to socialism.

We have always stressed the signficance of the political unity of the trade union movement. At the ninth congress our party recognized that the indispensable functions of the trade unions are the consistent defense of the interests and rights of employees, and joint participation in multiplying the national income and in forming the social and economic policy of the state.

The party expressed the will for open, equal treatment of the trade unions, and for recognizing them as respected partners in all social and economic matters.

Solidarity can be an important constructive force, when in conformity with the spirit of the August 1980 agreements it expresses itself in program and practice on the side of socialist renewal and directs its energy toward reform and work, instead of (?using) it for negation and destruction.

On this not only does the future of the union depend but also, to a quite considerable extent, does the present and future of our country. The majority of the trade union movement properly understands its functions. It respects the principles of Poland's political order, the law, and its own statutes, a fact which does not hamper it from adopting a stance against specific decisions or actions by the organs of the state and economic administration. Nor does it restrict its independence and self-management.

On the day of the national assembly of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions we appeal to its participants to continue the struggle for the socialist shape of the changes carried out in the country and to cherish the workers' traditions, lasting several dozen years, of the Polish trade union movement and also its class character.

In the activity of these unions, as in the movement of the Autonomous Trade Unions, we see an expression of agreement, an expression of understanding of the responsibility for the veryday conditions of working people, and the patriotic joint responsibility for the destinies of the homeland.

[Warsaw PAP in Russian at 2100 GMT on 16 October carries shorter excerpts from Kania's report to the Central Committee which contains the following passage not included in the Domestic Service versions:

["The party has great responsibilities regarding the national sitatuion. Its condition and the future of Poland are closely linked, which stems from the historical mission of a Marxist-Leninist party as the guiding force in socialist transformations.

["The first thing the party needs is a realistic assessment of the situation. For this reason we have paid close attention to reactions to the well-known statement of the Politburo on the situation after the first round of the Solidarity congress. The Politburo has become an important factor for the mobilization of forces in the party, but at the same time a factor of polarization. It has brought to light views and standpoints. Perhaps it is good that this should be so. Today we know more about ourselves than before the statement. The majority of party organizations, a large number of different organizational levels and very broad circles of the aktiv interpreted the document with due seriousness, with comprehension, and even with relief, as a platform for consolidating the party in the face of considerable perils, as a call for ideological and organizational mobilization. Many such organizations have even commenced a dialogue on the subjects dealt with in the statement with Solidarity bodies at their enterprises -- a dialogue that has frequently been crowned with success.

["Among the political problems facing the party organizations, one of the most important is the issue of simultaneous membership of the party and Solidarity. In light of the events at the Solidarity congress, this is an issue of national significance. However, this issue is also pertinent wherever activity which is aimed against socialism, against the party and against the Polish-Soviet alliance predominates in local Solidarity organs. The party is one, and one cannot at the same time be a member of our party and one that is hostile to it. Every party organization must have its political identity and a clear profile.

["We have taken an unequivocal stand regarding centrifugal tendencies in the party and against such tendencies as horizontal structures. One must be particularly sensitive to everything that threatens the cohesion and unity of the party, and resolutely counter it. We wish to build this unity according to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of the program of the ninth party congress. What is the meaning of the call appearing in some quarters today for the convocation of a national party conference. This is a harmful call, the work of splitters.

["Our party wants to be, is and must remain profoundly, genuinely democratic. However, it has its charter, which sanctions this democracy and determines its boundaries. The principles of the charter, the Leninist principles of Democratic centralism must never be contravened with impunity, particularly at a difficult time for the party.]

["Consequently, the situation in the party is complex. The very practice of political struggle constitutes an inspection of party ranks. We do not have to be a party with 3 million members. Above all, we are not such a party in practice, since it is not numbers that matter. An inspection must be made of party ranks so that plans can be built on the real forces of the party, a party whose every link must be a bastion of struggle against the threat to socialism, a center of initiative and inventiveness, transforming its surroundings. It is necessary to hold a collection of party cards. Those comrades who want to act energetically and to struggle for the ideals of the party will be given new cards. The Politburo is presenting this idea to the Central Committee. People who have found themselves in the party by accident could without conflict part company with it, and the party organizations would have the opportunity to count their ranks, gather their forces and take action.

["Great difficulties in the organization of party activity stem from the present form of the country's administrative division. We are examining the expediency of setting up regional links of party activity, especially for the organization of the party's ideological work. A large proportion of criticism is aimed at the executive bodies of the Central Committee. The Politburo's activity must be based on a profound analysis of the situation and a forecast of its development. Political planning in different circumstances must be realized on such a basis. That is something we have lacked.

["One more thing: trust. We have picked fresh authorities from top to bottom of the party. We have (?restored) the rank [rang] of control over them and established mechanisms for this control. Through the joint efforts of the whole party we have drawn up a program platform for further unity and internal cohesion. We have not yet fully restored the trust needed for the activity of the entire party. This must not in the least weaken party control over all the authorities elected from top to bottom."]

Esteemed comrades, you know perfectly well that the reinstatement of the functioning of authority must be recognized as the party's primary objective. This is today the fundamental cause of the difficulty, and the extremely important direction of its improvement. [as heard] The state is a special value, won in battle by the blood of the sons and daughters of the Polish nation, shaped as a result of the effort of millions of working people. For the Polish People's Army, whose anniversary we celebrated a few days ago, fought for the socialist nature of this state in new, just borders. The present state is the historical achievement of many generations of Poles. Today this state is threatened.

This is not an external threat, as used to be the case, although we cannot fail to notice the particular activeness of the anti-Polish, anticommunist centers of imperialist subversion known for years. It is threatened above all from within, mainly by forces whose cooperation with those centers abroad is beyond doubt. It is economically threatened by the progressive decline in production and in national income, by the destructive action aimed against work, by the weakening of our possibilities for economic and trade cooperation abroad. It is threatened by the danger of unleashing in it antagonisms between town and country, threatened by the incessant exploitation of the mood of social dissatisfaction with state organs, by the continued weakening of the possibilities of their action, imparing their efficiency by the method of attacks from inside, and by external destruction.

The opponents of the socialist state endeavor to paralyze systematically the constructive undertakings of its authorities by employing various methods: noisy propaganda, demagogic concern, unleashing strikes and other protest actions, threatening such actions, and also not shunning the methods of personal intimidation of representatives of state organs and institutions.

The effect of these actions are the growing difficulties in extricating our country from the crisis and in the work aimed at relieving the life of the population. The effect of these actions is the striking reduction of discipline and, in its wake, the intensifying signs of violations of the law, of law and order, and of weakening the internal security of the state.

The position of our state is also weakened in the international arena. Our allies' trust has been seriously violated, and also that of other states which cooperate with us. This is reflected, for it must be reflected, in our participation in the international division of labor, in the extent of the scale of economic and social links. This produces negative effects for the living standard of our country's inhabitants.

Following earlier attacks on the leading cadre of the state organs, on the Citizens' Militia and other organs of justice, and on the party and state apparatus, attacks have recently been launched on the Sejm and People's Councils. We note the attempts at humiliating the dignity of deputies, at weakening their prestige, and at restricting the indispensable constitutional freedom of their actions. The intentions are obvious.

The aim is to paralyze the fundamental state institutions in order to replace them, in accordance with the existing scenario, by a different structure of authority having an antisocialist character. In the period separating us from the Sixth Central Committee Plenum, the party has taken a number of initiatives aimed at introducing essential changes in the existing state system in accordance with the socialist character of the state and the the expectations of society. Important decisions aimed at a consistent development of socialist democracy were made by the ninth congress. These decisions are gradually but consistently being put into practice.

Further legal acts are being prepared. Our party, profoundly democratic in its essence, is not afraid of democratization of the state to match contemporary needs and the degree of development of society. The democratism of our state has a class character. Institutions of socialist democracy must never be allowed to become the field of free play for the opponents of socialism. The development of democracy must have nothing in common with moves toward anarchy. Meanwhile, we are dealing with numerous signs of this very path. The most effective defense of the state must be concern for the efficient and disciplined operation of all of its cells: for a rapid, sensible and involved implementation of the tasks facing them. We must defend more persistently and consistently the unjustly attacked zealous party activists and self-sacrificing managerial cadres in the state and economic apparatus. But the party and its echelons and organizations also have a duty to control and settle accounts with people appointed to the appropriate posts, demanding of them that they carry out their duties honestly. In the immediate future, the struggle for the socialist nature of our state will be played out in the factories. This will be a struggle for the socialist nature of the enterprise in the light of the act on state enterprises and workers' self-management. The concept of worker self-management, approved by the Third Central Committee Plenum and then, with certain changes, approved by the Sejm, is being opposed in a demagogic way by anarchists whose final goal is to undermine the basic structures of the socialist state, depriving it, in essence, of influence over the direction of economic policy and, as a further consequence, subjecting the commodity-money market to spontaneous processes.

This is also an aim which strikes at the leading role of the party in the socialist state. In Solidarity's leading cells the issue of a referendum on the Sejm acts on self-management and on enterprises is being considered. This is a manifestation of their arrogant attitude to the supreme, sovereign organ of state authority, and must be met with firm opposition. Concern for setting up genuine workers' self-management; concern for the proper, effective introduction of the economic reform in workplaces: These are the most important and the most urgent duties of party echelons and organizations. This is the basic task of the party. An important goal of that struggle is to get the country out of its profound crisis; to safeguard the vital interests of working people. There must be an urgent strengthening of the state's economic power. We should also be considering this: Can the generally unchallenged right to strike be maintained today? Should this right not be curtailed for a definite period, for the common good? Should we, the Central Committee of our party, not be the initiators of the concept of stopping all strikes for the very difficult autumn and winter months?

It is our right and duty to make the whole of society and all its representatives aware of the seriousness of the economic situation, of the dangers attendant on the possibility of every additional disruption to the already weak pulse of production.

I propose, therefore, that the Central Committee examine such a draft initiative, discuss it, and make the appropriate decisions and authorizations on behalf of the Politburo obligatory for all party cells. There are no lack of statements trying to minimize the cost of strikes. Perhaps such reactions fit into a purely bookkeeping convention, concerning direct losses. On a social scale, however, on a scale of violation of labor discipline and morality, of lessening the power to manage the state economy, strikes, or even threats to strike, bring enormous losses and they must not be increased.

Esteemed comrades! The [word indistinct] of political life in People's Poland is the system of a three-party alliance of the PZPR, the ZSL and the SD. It must achieve much greater significance. We must create better conditions for real political independence on the basis of the socialism of our partners, in accordance with their ideological identity and program differentiation. An institutional expression of this political alliance is the Commission for Cooperation between the PZPR and other political parties. We want to activate its operation constantly, so that it becomes the base of coordinating mutual interparty cooperation and for agreeing on our stands regarding important state issues.

The party as the spokesman of the general national interests is proposing an initiative for broadening the formula of the National Unity Front [FJN] as a platform for national conciliation, gathering together all forces of united patriotism, all those who are ready for constructive action for the good of their homeland. Our porposition for the creation of a lasting platform for the consolidation of the forces of good sense and civic responsibility stems from the above reasons and from a concern for the party to fulfill its obligations to the whole nation. The party does not claim the right to a monopoly of concern for the country. We direct the general offer of an alliance to all organizations and social circles. There is one condition, an incontrovertible [nieprzekraczalny] condition: recognition of the inviolability of the fundamental principles of the socialist constitutional order and solicitude for the alliances which define Poland's place in the world and which jointly guarantee its independent, secure and peaceful existence.

It is understandable that in a socialist society there can occur, and in practice there do exist, various viewpoints and various expectations arising from the various interests of individual social groups, professional or local aspirations. We all know how the state of relations between the state and the church is for our situation. The state's religious policy is not of a passing nature and will be continued. The needs of religious believers meet with understanding and the possibilities of the church are appreciated. And that is the very reason why we react with disquiet to manifestations of the exploitation of religious feelings and the authority of the church for political purposes which are contrary to the interests of the state and the nation. We count on this changing. It ought to change. We stand by the position that in resolving the contradictions which appear in reality today in society the main method is dialogue and accord. Only that permits the alleviation of contradictions, the coordination of interests, the determination of a priority of goals, and their timely implementation. Obviously, that method does not apply and cannot apply to the enemies of socialism. Today the Poles' patriotism and wisdom must be expressed in supporting just such a direction. Our stance was confirmed in the Politburo's 16 September statement, in which we stated our readiness and the need for constructing an alliance of all those -- an agreement with everyone -- who are not against socialism and to whom the cause of the homeland and its rescue is dear.

A vision of such an agreement was presented at the ninth party congress. It meets with the support of the allied parties. We believe that in accordance with the Constitution, agreement ought to serve the consolidation of democracy, the implementation of social justice and the rule of law in line with the principles of the socialist system, the fostering of creative and productive work, thrift, social initiatives and domestic peace, (?through) the linking of the social forces' activity with the state's efforts to overcome the crisis, beginning with the most urgent tasks of mobilizing forces and resources before the winter, the restoration of Poland's international prestige and its credibility as an ally, and with the strengthening of its sovereign and secure existence. At all levels the national alliance ought to be broadly open to all forces and all citizens who recognize the wish to act within the constitutional framework. That also applies to all the trade unions, including Solidarity. It embraces all social organizations. It grants an important voice to the creative, scientific and technical associations, and to the sociocultural and regional associations. It appeals to the patriotism of all currents in the veterans' movement. It represents a platform for national conciliation between all patriots in Poland.

Comrade ladies and gentlemen, in the situation which seems to have reached an impasse we must adopt the only assumption: For the nation there is not, and there cannot be, a situation without a way out. We are capable of solving all problems, even the most difficult, in the immediate and the most distant future. Every solution calls for sacrifices and joint payment of the price. It is not permitted for one not to pay its highest price. Understood in this way, the responsibility for the fate of the nation is at the same time the main platform for the consolidation and mobilization of the forces of all of our party.

At the present stage this is our historic mission, one which can be compared to the breakthrough of the forties when out of the program of the Polish Workers' Party [PPR] and the whole democratic camp there arose a new Poland. The general program of the ninth congress demands under the current conditions a specific concentration of all actions and ideas around issues, as elementary today as they are important for the whole future of the country. We are living in extraordinary times. The program of socialist renewal carries a chance for Poland. We know, however, that these times also carry a great threat to socialism, to the national existence and may bring economic disaster. For that reason the government should be equipped with the right and given the confidence of our party and society to use all means which prove to be essential to defend socialism, to restore law and order, and to stop destructive processes in the national economy.

It is important to understand our obligations against the wide background of the program for overcoming the crisis. But we must also always remember those problems and issues which determine the situation of working people every day. So a great mobilization of the party, of state institutions and of social organizations is needed to prepare the whole economy to survive the winter period. This is an exceptionally difficult, and exceptionally responsible and complex task.

In the first place, we must ensure the safeguarding of the basic living conditions of the population, supplies of food, clothing, footwear and heating. The government plan of action in the winter period, linked with the campaign of social self-defense, is not only a package of government measures but can become the driving force for constructive cooperation among the state authorities, the trade unions and social self-managements for extricating Poland from the crisis.

The government initiative deserves support for setting up, jointly with all trade unions, a commission whose aim would be to agree on specific measures regarding the issue of getting out of the crisis. Implementing and, if necessary, modifying the economic stabilization program is a task of monumental importance. There are various discussions augmenting this program. Experiences to date prompt comments which, if accepted, would make the planned stabilization measures feasible. We propose that free Saturdays be given up in the autumn and winter periods in the extracting industries, particularly in mining, and in those enterprises which can be assured of having raw material supplies for regular production.

This is a difficult issue, but it cannot feasibly be replaced today by any other solution. Mining work is particularly significant. This is the sector of the working class which has the hardest and most dangerous work. Today the miners' toil is saving the country and giving work to others. A system of special privileges for miners must be introduced to the extent that our state can affort it. This is necessary, it is essential -- essential not just in the interests of the miners, but in the interests of all of society. At the beginning of next week, the Politburo will examine in Silesia the entire range of problems in coal mining and in the miners' working and living conditions.

It is essential to more rapidly and perceptibly enliven the small-scale industry sector and to build that sector on a wider scale, as a [word indistinct] in our economy is an element both of the stabilization plan and of the entire economic reform. In this plan we see one of the guarantees that the market will be enriched and that the prices of the new commodities will not be speculatively high.

In the economic agricultural sector, decisive for the population's standard of living, the operating of price incentives is becoming less and less effective. Supplying of agriculture with the means of production moves into first place. This is the only path for rebuilding normal economic ties between the town and the countryside, between industry and agriculture, and for rebuilding harmonized interests of the workers and peasants; it is the path for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance.

We also consider as purposeful the continuation of socialist countries' efforts to develop our production potential on principles of mutual advantage. It is necessary to continue the program of introducing reforms in all areas.

Our programmatic stance is not devoid of risk, but it contains a chance which must be boldly exploited. We have not stated and we do not state that it is first necessary to overcome the economic crisis before carrying out reform. We are aware that time is acting against us in everything unless we manage in time to mobilize our sociopolitical energies. We shall not overcome our economic difficulties without a realistic prospect for better organization of every aspect of our life, without reforms which are a neglected need, and constitute the main conclusion from all the crises to date.

The foundation of all reforms, and the common denominator, is the development of a realistic responsibility in both the community and the nation for their own destiny while strengthening socialist democracy. The first expression of consolidating socialist democracy are the bills on the enterprise and on the workforce self-management. These bills constitute the beginning of the plan for the great regulation of political order -- as envisaged by the bills on the trade unions, the People's Councils, and the cooperatives.

Political experience and the planned legislative thinking should consolidate the new role of the trade unions in the socialist state. This is to a great degree a pioneering action which may end with success only if the state never deprives the unions of their autonomous rights to represent the workers' interests, and if the new trade unions do not become a political force -- never mind under what name -- fighting for authority against authority.

In practice, this would mean putting the working people's interests in second place, people who want to have an independent and effective union representation. This would mean not improving the state's role in serving the community -- something which is and remains a reforming need -- but paralyzing the state itself in all of its actions -- at which point the discussions about reforms, about democracy, about a better organization of work in our state, about the social agreements and negotiations would end -- since the state was, is and must remain ruled by one authority, democratic authority, controlled, but one, and therefore effective in its action, particularly action in crisis conditions.

[Warsaw PAP in Russian at 2100 GMT on 16 October in its version of Kania's report contains the following passage not included in the Warsaw Domestic Service version:

["The situation in Poland and of Poland is of European, global significance and is a vital factor of the general development of international political, economic and military relations.

["The optimum conditions for Poland's existence within the present borders were created as an historical fact after World War II on the principle of replacing antagonistic relations with the Soviet Union with relations of alliance, common interests and advantageous cooperation. Action in the interests of state, although it is so alive in our political thought, does not exhaust the content of Polish-Soviet relations, since it can signify necessity only when it is a question of socialist Poland's great positive opportunities in the socialist community. [sentence as received]

["The crisis has subjected these opportunities to dangerous trials, all the more so since in conditions of political and historical disorientation, especially that of the younger generation, remnants of anti-Soviet viewpoints poison people's minds and obfuscate an understanding of Polish interests. In this matter, there must be no half-hearted declarations, equivocal stands or failures to speak out at a time when forces hostile to socialism and the old and new anti-Soviet centers wish to turn patriotism, which is Poland's salvation, into a fatal nationalism.

["Our party has an interest in seeing that the basis of the Polish-Soviet alliance has as wide a political, ideological and psychological support as possible within the country -- not monopolized by any forces, but constituting a stable element of national awareness and of the politico-state culture of Poles.

["A special responsibility of our party is to do everything to halt the poisoning of minds with anti-Soviet propaganda and to make Poland's position as an ally in the socialist community, which today constitutes the principle guarantee of our security, independence and the sovereignty of the state within the present borders, trustworthy.

["Poland and the Soviet Union also have the same interest in the question of rapidly surmounting our crisis. An integral part of our program to combat the crisis is to preserve economic relations -- especially with the socialist countries -- to develop and strengthen them, as well as to preserve such relations with the Western countries in circumstances of considerable debt and foreign currency starvation. It is quite clear that the restoration and expansion of the export capabilities of our economy are the only effective way of eliminating here the difficulties connected with the crisis. This will open up the possibility of restoring the payment capabilities of our state as a debtor and partner in international economic exchange."]

Esteemed comrades, our situation is extremely complex. The direction for mastering it was defined by the program of the ninth congress. This is incumbent on everyone. Today it must be recognized that the leading thought of all of our actions must, above all, be the defense of socialism against the counterrevolutionary threat; the protection of the national being; and the continuation of the line of accord, which is understood to be orientation toward a broad alliance of all those who are not against socialism, all those who want to act for the cause of our common homeland's prosperity.

Further on Kania Remarks

LD161626 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] The country's political situation, an assessment of the implementation of the resolutions of the party's ninth extraordinary congress, the party's ideological and educational tasks -- these are the subjects of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum which is debating in Warsaw today.

It is of course too early for a profound commentary. The discussion is now in progress on the reports presented by Stanislaw Kania and Stefan Olszowski. Therefore, one can only note several reflections and present the general tone and temperature of the debates.

In the foreground, a sense of responsibility stands out: the party's responsibility for the country's present situation and its future, and the Central Committee's responsibility before the party masses.

The first secretary of the party's Central Committee, Stanislaw Kania, stressed the significance of the resolutions of the ninth congress and stated at the same time that so far no one has presented a different, realistic alternative for organizing the community's life and overcoming the economic crisis. He also said that frequent attempts have been made in our country to undermine the significance of these resolutions, to negate them or to silently ignore them. This also concerns Solidarity's evaluation of the party's program.

Stanislaw Kania stated that this organization may be an important constructive force, but its action cannot consist of negation and destruction. He critically assessed the various trends which have become visible in Solidarity, particularly during this organization's congress. Many decisions of this congress constituted a challenge thrown in the face of the party; some of them bore witness to a deliberate forgetting of the realities of the Polish political order and raison d'etat.

The dialogue between the party and Solidarity must be conducted; but its content must be for the good of Poland, leading the country from the crisis, reforming the economy and giving the state democracy. The party is not frightened of this democratization; to the contrary, the party has marked out these directions itself and wishes to deepen them. On the other hand, the dialogue between the party and Solidarity cannot consist of a rivalry for power.

This is in its most concise form, how one can characterize the views expressed so far during the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum on the subject of the principles of the social agreements.

Olszowski Report

LD262320 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1857 GMT 16 Oct 81

["Extensive excerpts" of report entitled "Some Problems and Directions of the Ideological-Educational Activity of the Party in the Current Situation" delivered by Stefan Olszowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, at the first day of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 16 October -- recorded]

[Text] Esteemed comrades, although our thoughts mainly revolve around the country's current sociopolitical situation, allow me, nevertheless, to attempt to focus your attention on certain tasks of the party's ideological work as well. These tasks are assuming special importance today when issues raised by life demand that each of us should determine his attitude to these issues in accordance with the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, with the interests of the party and the socialist state as well as with our own convictions.

The essential issues concern the consequences of the recently-ended first Solidarity congress. It follows from the congress documents that Solidarity is deviating from the tasks of a trade union and, acting only under the label of a trade union, on a number of fundamental issues is forcing through a program of aggressive antisocialist opposition. These trends are patronized by the extremists and, especially, by people who have links with the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR] and the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN], who for years have been trained to fight socialism and our party.

The results of the national Solidarity congress prove that the union is a movement in which contradictions between the various trends are coming to the fore. At the grass-roots level this movement originates from the working class, which demands an effective representation of the occupational interests of that class. However, in the shaping of its program the greatest part is played by groups which are seeking to change this system and which hide behind the working class in order to bring to fruition their own ambitions and interests.

The lines of political divisions today cut across professional and social groups, even across families. For our party an important problem is to overcome these divisions on the basis of realistic assessments, consistent action, organizational unity and identity of objectives.

We have, indeed, to overcome a great many dangers. An obvious political danger is to be found in the dismantling of the state system and the introduction of anarchy into the political and economic life. The main material danger lies in the profound crisis of the national economy and the coming winter. The supplies of coal, food and industrial commodities constitute at present the most important problems and difficulties. These are tasks of the highest order not only in the economic sense but also in the ideological and political sense, which our party has to tackle at the turning of the years 1981-82.

However, it is not enough merely to realize this fact. What is indispensable is action. An offensive drive, resolve and consistency in the implementation of the policies of the ninth congress, the defense of the Constitution and the law must be the features of all measures at each level of political life. This is the only way and the only method which can make it possible to halt the activities of the opponents of socialism. The main form of action is the defense of the socialist system of the state and the maintenance of close links with the working class from whom the forces of counterrevolution are trying to separate us. The instruction is: Democracy and socialist renewal -- yes; anarchy -- no. The line and the praxis of accord is at the same time the line of struggle for the raison d'etat of socialist Poland. Consolidation of our membership in the community of the socialist states, the Warsaw Pact organization and CEMA, and above all, the alliance and cooperation with the Soviet Union are of key importance.

We are united by common goals of building a socialist and communist society in the implementation of which we are directed by universal rules theoretically defined by the science of Marxism-Leninism. The deepening of the social understanding of the Polish-Soviet alliance and the ensuing duties is one of our party's supreme political and ideological tasks and is in the best understood interest of Poland.

The PZPR, the party which grew from Polish national soil, from the traditions of the Polish workers' movement, is continuing the inheritance of the struggle for national freedom, independence and sovereignty of the state; and it is the PZPR which is a guarantor of Poland's membership in the community of socialist states. It is the PZPR and no one else which is the party in quest [poszukujaca] of the solutions that correspond best to the special situation of our nation, and which also is the spokesman of the universal Leninist principles of socialism. Such are the program assumptions of the Ninth PZPR Congress.

Our membership in the community of socialist states and our involvement in bilateral and multilateral relations with the fraternal socialist states, the foreign policy and defense policy which is in tune with their policies, the orientation for the development of the mutually advantageous economic, scientific, technical and cultural cooperation, are the foundations on which our sovereign and secure national existence rests. These principles will not and cannot be changed.

The people's Armed Forces, while solidly performing their duties and pledges within the political and defensive Warsaw Pact, clearly confirm our credibility as allies in the community of the socialist states.

Our Armed Forces also perform the internal functions of the defense of the constitutional political system of our state and are an important factor in stabilizing our country's situation. The Armed Forces in the recent tempestuous months have preserved political caution and demonstrated great social maturity. They joined actively in the struggle for the maintenance of the rule of law and preservation of order and discipline. Participating universally in the life of our country, they provide a constructive contribution to overcoming the crisis, give an example of the selfless and disciplined service and work for Poland, and in line with their capabilities they assist the national economy.

The Armed Forces are thus the support [opora] of the socialist state, not merely because of their military strength but also because of the political, ideological and moral cohesion of their ranks. Such an attitude results from well-organized ideological and training activity. We ought to take active advantage of this experience of our Armed Forces.

The military might and the consistent attitude of the Soviet Union on matters of national security, which are of fundamental inportance to Poland's security, protect our country from attempts at interference by imperialist forces and they support the defense of the achievements of socialism.

We are popularizing and we will continue to popularize the truth about the assistance given by the Soviet Union to socialist Poland, the importance of the Polish-Soviet alliance, membership in the community of socialist states, and universal cooperation with the allies, cooperation which has significantly changed our country's position for the better and has become the historic achievement of our nation and a guarantee of Polish independence and its borders along the Odra and the Nysa Luzycka.

Any action directed against good relations with our neighbors, relations which were so badly missing from the past of the Polish state, is from the viewpoint of the Polish raison d'etat a harmful activity aimed at the vital interests of our nation. We must oppose this damaging activity with full consistency.

In accordance with the ninth congress resolution, we are following the road of developing socialist democracy and of strengthening the role of democratic institutions in public life. We have taken and are continuing essential steps to safeguard full realization of civic rights and freedoms in our country.

Conditions have been created for consolidating the role of the Sejm, which has become the fully-authorized, supreme legislative and controlling organ. At the initiative of our party the law on workers' self-management was drafted and adopted. This matter was also comprehensively discussed by the Third Central Committee Plenum. Together with the law on state enterprises, the law on self-management represents the foundation of economic reform.

Legislative work on the new law on People's Councils is in full swing, in whose qualitative renewal of the relation to the past finds expression in the principle of local self-management. We are also aiming at the rapid acceptance of a new law on trade unions which corresponds to the contemporary realities. We see social self-management as a platform for joint management and joint administration by the worker and the citizen and an effective means of counteracting the bureaucratic ills. A course aimed at eliminating the deformations of bureaucratic centralism found tangible expression in the ninth congress resolution. We are implementing this course. From these positions we must resolutely counter the conception of Solidarity, which first ignored the idea of workers' self-management to install structures in political, social and economic life directed against the socialist state and the constitutional legal order. The struggle against these tendencies is not a struggle against self-management but in fact a struggle for self-management itself, for its important and permanent place in Poland.

Destabilization of the state's structures and organizations, the spread of anarchy, attempted extortions, pressure and blackmail leading to the paralysis of economic life and to the severing of the basic social links must be met with resolute counteraction.

All essential legal means must be applied wherever the law continues to be broken. The effectiveness of our activity in the area of the observance of the law calls for resolution and consistency by the central and local party and state authorities; but moral and political support by the party organization is also necessary. Without appropriate political work to justify the correctness of the actions of the services of public order and of the organs of the administration of justice, we will not be equal to dealing with the various counteractions organized by the centers hostile to us. It is also necessary for these actions to be supported by the mass media.

The sense of justice and equality is one of the strongest in our society. In practice its violation struck most keenly at the expectations of the public, weakened the hopes connected with socialism and gave birth to demurs by working people. The program of socialist renewal is basically a program of revitalizing, deepening and consolidating the contents which make for political, economic and moral justice. Let us repeat in line with the program of the ninth congress that the most important thing (?today) is the creation of conditions for the attainment, albeit in a transitional period, of at least the social minumum by every working family, the protection of the standard of living, which is of exceptional importance in a situation of economic crisis among those families and persons who are in the most difficult conditions. It is a matter of fairly distributing the burden of the crisis relative to the level of income, and it is also a matter of just proportions between incomes, of leveling out the excessive disparity of material living conditions.

The basic idea of the principle of justice and equality in our system is remuneration in proportion to the real contribution of socially useful labor and its effects. We resolutely support the system of making the real level of remuneration depend on the productivity and quality of work. In accordance with the moral and legal principles and with the social sense of justice -- where there were grounds for doing so -- we drew conclusions, political consequences, with regard to the prepetrators of the present crisis.

This was endorsed by the ninth congress resolution. All matters connected with this will be pursued to the end, and will be decided in conformity with the principles of law and order. At the same time let us defend the innocent, unjustly accused, and let us counteract their denigration.

It is also necessary -- and this should also be openly stated -- to make those answer who today contribute toward a deepening of the crisis, toward the destabilization and anarchization of the life of the community. The reinstatement of the real importance of ethical values and principles requires that in the system of idelogical work there should be matters of morality, both individual and social, relating to collective, political and economic life, to the social relations which ought to be marked by mutal tolerance, trust and respect.

[Warsaw PAP in Russian at 2100 GMT 16 October carries an "abridged version" of Olszowski's report to the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum which includes the following passage not contained in the Warsaw Domestic Service version: "The consistent settling of accounts with the past should not obscure the need to counteract the present spread of various types of wastefulness, abuse and criminality, which are becoming a dangerous social calamity."]

An object of particularly acute ideological and political struggle is the historical consciousness of the nation. For it always constituted and still constitutes an extremely important element of the national identity of Poles, an ideologically motivated precept and form of (?their) political actions. Exploiting the omissions and errors in education, especially historical, in innumerable publications and speeches, accusations are made against our party -- I quote -- concerning the annihilation of our national distinctness, and national culture [word indistinct].

In a way which is overtly subordinated to the goals of struggling for power, contrary to the elementary facts of historical truth, the picture of modern history is deformed, the democratic, revolutionary, internationalist traditions of the nation are undermined, and the long-ago compromised historical legends and myths are revived.

The set of ideological and political contents of the Pilsudski era and other bourgeois political trends, for which the Polish nation paid with great tragedies, are being systematically revived, and an attempt is made to reintroduce them into current political thinking. Particularly dangerous for the vital affairs of Poland are the broadly undertaken attempts to introduce into social circulation and the nation's consciousness the allegedly new picture of Polish-Soviet relations which falsifies their essence. This is to constitute the ideological and political background for inciting anti-Soviet moods.

The party cannot and will not surrender the task of shaping the nation's historical consciousness into the hands of the antisocialist and counterrevolutionary forces, but will undertake the struggle on this platform. The objective historical arguments are on our side. There can be no taboo areas and blank spots in the picture of our national history. The urgent task of the Marxist historians is thus the thorough, all-round source research into the previously neglected problems of the nation's history, the working class, and the workers' movement, which today to the detriment not only of the cause of socialism but also of the national interest have become an object of political manipulations by the opponents of socialism. It is thus necessary to show fully a true picture of history, especially most recent history.

Contemporary Marxist-Leninist thought in Poland, represented by our party, grows from deep traditions. Despite all ideological and political differences, despite the inevitable errors on a pioneer's path, the creators of Polish socialist Marxist thinking were linked by common ideas, which have constituted until contemporary times the fundamental component of the ideology of our party: national and social liberation, social justice, equality, democracy and self-management, and comprehensive development of the human individual. They ought to be stressed with all force in connection with the approaching 40th anniversary of the emergence of the Polish Workers' Party, implementing the resolution adopted by the ninth congress concerning the traditions of our party.

We are struggling so that never again will any patriotic act of socialism be neglected. It has long been our stance that blood shed for the motherland and work given to it must not be divided. Each trend and each orientation must be justly assessed according to its real role played in the fate of the nation. However, if we are to adopt this criterion, the only just one, we must also tell the truth about who is responsible for the idolizing of Poland when faced with the greatest danger in its history. The suicidal nature of the theory of two enemies must be recalled; responsibility for the greatest tragedies of the period of war and occupation must be properly assessed; and the fact that the rightwing led the nation astray toward the end of World War II must be reemphasized. Anyone who assesses this honestly must recognize the basic merits of the Polish leftwing for changing the fate of the nation.

These forces of Polish democracy, led by our party, ideologically, politically and organizationally regenerated in the underground movement during the period of occupation, established an alliance with the Soviet Union and thus accelerated and facilitated our country's liberation. These democratic forces, with the decisive help of the Soviet Union, achieved in struggle the return of Gdansk, Szczecin and Wroclaw to the motherland. They led to the reconstruction, renaissance and development of Poland. And precisely these forces ensured for the Polish nation a durable guarantee of sovereignty and independence, a sense of security, and brought about a long period of so very much desired peace.

The development of the country's situation requires that all citizens be fully aware of its dramatic nature.

The point of the Politburo's 16 September statement was to make the public aware, without beating about the bush, of the situation in the country, of its possible consequences, and to express the stance of the party leadership as regards the country's basic problems. Concerned precisely with social order and with leading the country out of the crisis, the Politburo called on all social forces in Poland, which have the interests of the homeland at heart, for honest, constructive and partnerlike cooperation. These proposals, contained in today's paper of Comrade Kania, have been addressed to the church and Catholic circles and to all trade unions, including Solidarity.

This is precisely how we understand the formula of the national unity front as a front of consensus and cooperation [front porozumienia i wspolpracy]. It should embrace all social forces and all citizens who endorse the fundamental principles of Poland's political system and alliances. It should rally around the socialist fatherland as great a number as possible of its Polish friends from all over the world. An important role in this union of patriotic forces will be played by those organizations which contribute great moral and ideological value to social life.

Some people on the other hand -- and as if to oppose it -- propose to create new political parties which refer to tradition with nothing or very little in common with the progressive movement. What does this mean? This means in fact not an alleviation but indeed an aggravation of the political cirsis; this means a return of inclination toward regimes of the bourgeois type with the intensification of political struggle which characterizes them instead of democracy, and of the joint-participation so indispensable for socialist Poland.

Yet others -- and this took place at a conference of the Association of Polish Journalists in Warsaw yesterday -- develop non-class projects of setting up a so-called government of compromise or a cease-fire government with a very restricted, merely a facade, participation in this governement by representatives of our party and other allied parties. These conceptions are aimed at opening the road to power to right-wing social groups; they are particularly dangerous since they tend to respond to the attempts to annihilate the present state authorities by various destructive moves, including blocking the government's anticrisis steps. So these are proposals which are unacceptable no matter what words are used to make them attractive.

[The Warsaw PAP in Russian 2100 GMT "abridged version" of Olszowski's speech replaces the previous two paragraphs with the following:

["They include the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, which acts energetically in favor of all-round drawing together and cooperation of the Polish people and the peoples of the USSR; the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy, which includes veterans of the struggle for national and social liberation from all currents of the antifascist resistance movement, participants in the partisan movement and the regular armed forces in the East and in the West and former concentration camp prisoners. The Union of Disabled Ex-Servicemen; the League of National Defense; the League of Women; national and regional scientific societies; cultural and local studies societies; societies for cooperation with foreign countries; and so on. They have millions of members, the overwhelming majority of whom are active members of society who devote all of their efforts to the service of the Polish People's Republic. The patriotic front of agreement and cooperation is opposed by the trend of social destruction. We are asked how to identify actions which are hostile to us. There are criteria which are based on the experience not just of the Polish but also of the international workers' movement. A counterrevolutionary is he who consciously tries to liquidate social ownership of the means of production, who undermines the foundations of the state which ensure a leading role for the working class and the worker-peasant alliance, who casts doubt on the working people's right to power in the state, who tries to deprive the party of its indisputable role under socialism, and who comes out against our alliances and the community of socialist states, playing into the hands of the enemies of peace and social progress."]

The obvious organizers of the antisocialist activity are people gathered around the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] and the Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR]. The KPN, which defines itself as the so-called independence organization, is marked primarily by its fanatical anticommunism and by militant anti-Sovietism. The spokesmen of this group do not hide their real political goals. They openly voice the slogans of breaking off the alliance with the Soviet Union, of tearing Poland out of the community of the socialist states and of liquidating people's power. The KPN organizers right from the very start created organizational structures which are typical for underground organizations. It is also significant that they undertook political flirtations with West German nationalism.

The group known until recently as KSS/KOR is attempting to infiltrate various organizations and sociopolitical movements and then [words indistinct]. KOR's program is basically a negation of socialism. It is no secret to anyone that KOR has connections with centers of political subversion in the West. KOR activists have infiltrated the leadership of Solidarity, treating this movement as a subject of manipulation in the struggle with people's power and in dismantling the political system. Only the naive can believe that KOR's self-dissolution puts an end to the activity linked with this antisocialist stream. Let us say it openly: Agreements cannot be made with people with counterrevolutionary aims and with enemies of the political system, and we will not make accords with them.

The events which we are experiencing make a particularly strong impression on the minds of young Poles. The crisis is creating a considerable devastation in their minds. The fears of the broad masses of young people for the country's future and for the possibility of providing normal living conditions are increasing. The particularly important front of struggle, therefore, cuts across all the young people's circles. The participation of young workers in the events of August of last year was a clear signal that in this sector there are special unresolved problems. Irrespective of the real needs which are not satisfied, in the last decade a vision of the coming prosperity was created and consumption expanded, instead of the educational and civic-like aspects of work being stressed and possibilities being shown in their true and realistic perspective.

Hence the failures and frustrations, the comparison of the patterns of consumerism with these of the most developed and richest countries of the West. Today the educated masses of young workers can and ought to constitute a driving force of resistance directed against the economic difficulties, chaos and struggle for progress in all sectors of life of the socialist fatherland.

We should deal with three issues concerning the young generation's initial concerns influencing their political and ideological awareness. Here the party tasks are of a type of essential assistance, seeking new ways to free cognisant initiatives and searching for the truth about the sense of life and its aims and social justice. As far as material existence is concerned, a significant issue here concerns the problem of housing for young families and the problem of professional advancement.

The resolution of the young people's housing problem in general is becoming increasingly difficult. The situation will be improved, however, by the housing policy being conducted justly under social control. The main task is to stop the decline in the construction of apartments. Young people constitute the majority of employees in construction enterprises, and their role is extremely important. We must also create methods other than those run by the state and community for increasing the numbers of new apertments, such as through small cooperatives producing housing elements and using local raw materials with the support of the work enterprises, [words indistinct] of the socialist youth unions and organizational and financial infrastructures of the housing cooperatives.

Another problem concerns the prospects of young people's professional advancement. Apart from temporary solutions it seems essential to create possibilities of horizontal advancement [awans pozimoy] when the future pay structures are worked out. Such advancement would depend on gaining the relevant professional qualifications and would link them with the pay structure.

Apart from the need for advancement of young people of outstanding ability to the leading posts in administration and the economy such a way could stimulate inventiveness and intellectual activeness of employees. Problems of the young generation form an essential part of the party program formulated at the ninth congress. [The Warsaw PAP in Russian "abridged version" of the report adds at this point: "Guided by the recommendations of the congress on this question, we have begun to prepare a plenary meeting of the Central Committee. The Politburo, at its recent meeting, examined a 'Report on the Conditions of Young People's Start in Life and Work,' which recommended that the government take measures to shield the younger generation from the most grievous social consequences of the continuing crisis and economic reform. Strong and independent socialist youth leagues are the best defenders of the interests and aspirations of the younger generation. We shall support them in the conviction that a clear idea of the vital needs and aspirations of young people should be a feature of the socialist process of reforming social and economic life. However, participation in the solution of the homeland's problems is also the main task for young people."]

In the conditions of the sharp political struggle and defense of socialism the tasks of renewal demand most of all the party's ideological and organizational unity.

We have a concrete program adopted by the congress. The Leninist principles of action have been made, in accordance with the feelings of the whole party, into a concrete expression in the form of the party statute. However, the party's activity as a whole does not satisfy the needs of the moment. The program of the ninth congress has not been sufficiently popularized, and we are speaking self-critically about this. It is this program which again defines and supports the line of dialogue and agreement. It was this program which proposed to the nation an economic reform and an outline of a program for coming out of the crisis. This is the basis for lively activity by party members. Therefore, all forces must be focused on the party echelons elected democratically by the whole party. [Words indistinct] a discussion within the party and along the party principles and not by creation of new structures, new kinds of agreements and [word indistinct] is the road to renewal and to recovering ideological, political and organizational strength. It is the entire party's task to shape a conviction about the possibility of overcoming the crisis. Overcoming difficulties and accelerating their liquidation depends on including the energy of the entire party in this great task and depends on gaining supporters for this task.

Wide scope for rationalizing and for inventive work has been opened by the economic reform. It does not pass over any link in the economy or the administration. Therefore, it is necessary to move from a general discussion to wide-ranging organizational work. Let every PZPR member take an active part in the actions that are aimed at overcoming the difficulties in his work enterprise, in a concrete personal manner [words indistinct]. Let every PZPR member without exception work on workfree Saturdays wherever it is essential for the good of the country.

There cannot be any party member who would shirk this task. In party committees and organizations let us objectively answer the question: What can and should every party member do to maintain the production rhythm under conditions of economic crisis, especially in the context of the approaching winter, for the regeneration of the productive and cooperative supply links between joint enterprises and to create conditions for carrying out economic reform?

The Politburo considers that overcoming the crisis and alleviating the difficulties of the approaching winter, carrying out the economic reform and the principles of workers' self-management calls for the mobilization of the forces of the whole party, of all PZPR members, Solidarity members and members of Industrial Branch and Autonomous Trade Unions.

Let the party organizations in agriculture, science, education and culture, in all links of the state and the administration specify their tasks in accordance with this. The government and the whole administration, of whom we often make high demands, and justifiably and unjustifiably criticize, must have the feeling that their efforts have the powerful support of the whole party.

The great political discussion must take place on the basis of the hard realities of daily life. The bases of the national existence, and the bases of the society of working people, of the Polish families, are created by production. Whoever is for overcoming these difficulties and obstacles and who will do everything possible to reverse the course of dramatic events on the market is on our side. The great task of strengthening activity calls for party echelons at all levels to reorientate their action.

[The Warsaw PAP in Russian "abridged version" of Olszowski's report includes the following passage not contained in the Warsaw Domestic Service version:

["In accordance with the decision of the ninth congress the party must create conditions for the development of its theoretical thought. Today, above all, we should study deeply and evaluate the current phase of Poland's development. In the light of the present crisis we must reanalyze the stance formulated at the seventh congress according to which Poland is already at the stage of construction of an advanced socialist society. We must carefully analyze the correlation of class forces in Poland. We consider it expedient to submit to the Central Committee a proposal to organize a national ideological conference this year in which members of central and voivodship party organs, as well as figures from the ideological front, party scholars and publicists should take part. The point is to awaken Marxist ideological thought throughout the party. There is considerable negligence in the dissemination of the ideological and political knowledge of Marxism-Leninism among the members and candidate members of the party.

["We are faced with the need to restore the system of training according to the principle that it is most important to inculcate basic Marxist knowledge, to put in order and freshen the foundations of socialism and its elementary values and principles, and also to disseminate a Marxist evaluation of new phenomena and political problems. We shall also create a unified system of broadening the knowledge and qualifications of the cadre apparatus and the party aktiv, based on the Higher School of Social Sciences, local party schools and local training course centers, linking this with the most mass form of teaching in the evening university of Marxism-Leninism. No less important a task is the improvement of the circulation of inner-party information. A department of information is being formed in the party's Central Committee, the task of which will be to deal with these problems. In the whole system of the party's ideological work it is necessary to restore the ability to influence people's ideological stances, that is the capability for agitational work. This is a task for the whole party, for all its links."]

The media plays a very important role in the solution of the tasks of socialist renewal and in the counteraction of the threatening danger. Their significance, which is always great, grows in periods which are particularly difficult.

Those who undertook a harsh struggle for media in order to broaden the possibilities for attacking the principles of the system and at the same time to paralyze all criticism of their actions also know about the special role of journalism in crisis conditions. There will be no agreement to extend to the media the field of action for the political opponent. The broad presentation of the problems, opinions and actions of the new union movement -- yes; but political subversion -- no!

Fulfilling a leading role in relation to the media the party directs itself according to the resolution of the ninth congress which stated its support for the extension of the openess of political and public life, for honest information about state problems and the actions of the authorities, and for the creation of conditions for the functioning of socialist democracy.

Guaranteeing journalists access to the information that is indispensable to them and the possibility of publishing critical and polemical articles belong to these conditions. The conditions that favor the correct functioning of the press, radio and television and the growth of the significance of social criticism were created by law passed by the Sejm on the control of publications and demonstrations. [Words indistinct] the speedy preparation of the press law.

The majority of journalists and editorial boards are contributing well to the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth congress. However, there are also authors who shirk the task of taking a stand in the current ideological and political struggle. There are also those who, at times openly and at times behind a veil, declare themselves in favor of the party's opponents. They place the blame for all that alarms society on the party and on state authorities. Whenever they write about Solidarity, they cannot even find critical words when there is an obvious need for them.

Many journalists, including members of the authorities of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP], are playing a positive role in the process of socialist renewal at various levels. Unfortunately, however, one cannot say that of certain members of the leadership of the SDP, who aim at transforming the association into a center of political command in competition with the PZPR. We state clearly and resolutely: The party will consistently fulfill its leading role in relation to mass media information. This includes the press -- its contents, sources of information for journalists, the printing and broadcasting base and cadre policy. The political opponents deceive themselves when they think that they will succeed in eliminating the party's leading role in this area by obtaining footholds in the form of radio and television editorial boards, the content of whose broadcasts would not be subordinate to the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs. Steps in this direction will be fruitless and only cause unnecessary tension.

We also treat the work of our party printing house, RSW [the Workers' Printing Cooperative], with particular attention. The ninth congress resolution states that the Central Committee and the local party echelons will support the development and improvement of RSW. Moves aimed at breaking up RSW, which appear in Solidarity and among some SDP activists, are contrary to this resolution.

This leads to a weakening of the leading role of the party. We firmly reject attempts to implement such projects. This has been proven by the counteraction against the so-called work-free days and by the counteraction against Solidarity's provocative attempts to enter the radio and television realm.

It is the duty of all mass information media at the disposal of the party and state to show greater initiative in the implementation of the tasks mapped out in the resolutions of the ninth congress. The press, radio and television should contribute to overcoming the political and economic crisis, to preventing social conflicts and to strengthening public law and order. It is necessary to expose the real intentions concealed behind the wholesale criticism of all moves made by the government. For this purpose the mass information media must launch a political struggle against the enemies of socialism, against political adventurism and against any attempts to discredit the party and weaken the state and its alliances. Any attempts to attack Poland's international alliances must be firmly countered.

Comrades, I have presented some of the problems of the party's ideological activities in its struggle for its Marxist-Leninist identity. These are very complex and controversial problems. We examine them in connection with the present political situation, with the needs of the campaign to overcome the crisis and achieve a socialist form of sociopolitical renewal. The indispensible condition of victory in this struggle lies in the definition, by members of the party, of their place and their stance; in the achievement of an unambiguous ideological choice and in confirming it in action.

Our party contains great forces and an ideology based on scientific theory and the experience of the struggle of the working class. It stems from the program of the ninth congress, a program of a national socialist renewal, and from the platform of the patriotic forces of the nation which are in the service of this renewal. Let us make this the essence of the ideological work of our party. Thank you for your attention.

16 October Debate

LD170424 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1936 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Discussion began at the fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum today after the two reports delivered by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and Stefan Olszowski, secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo.

The first to take the floor was Ryszard Kucharski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the party committee in a car factory in Zeran. Stressing the necessity of a struggle for an authentic worker character of the party, he demanded that more care be shown for deeper links between the party leadership and party masses.

Zofia Grzyb, member of the Central Committee Politburo and brigade leader at the Radoskor plant, stressed that party members are sincerely concerned about the situation in the country. Zofia Grzyb evaluated very negatively the proceedings and program of the Solidarity congress, stating that this union clearly proclaimed itself to be an opposition political organization, not the trade union movement on which working people and she personally had pinned such great hopes. Accord must not mean a surrender of power.

The next speaker, Kazimierz Skwara, member of the Central Committee and foreman at the Ziemowid mine in Tychy, Katowice Voivodship, states that it is necessary to resolutely put a stop to anarchy, which is rife in towns and in the countryside, and to violations of law and order in our country. He said that miners want to work but it is necessary to ensure the right conditions for them.

Eugeniusz Mroz, Central Committee member and first secretary of the Opole Voivodship PZPR Committee, said that the time had come to move to an ideological and organizational attack in order to make party ranks militant and to restore the party's authority, make its program credible and regain the confidence of the community.

The next participant in the discussion, Mieczyslaw Marsymonicz, Central Committee member and private farmer from the village of Kedzierzyn [word indistinct] Koszalin Voivodship, shared his reflections on the situation in agriculture. He pointed out that it is necessary to make every effort to prevent a conflict between towns and the countryside from arising and to give a practical character to the slogan: Green Light for Agriculture.

Stanislaw Kalkus, Central Committee member and brigade leader at the Cegielski plant in Poznan, spoke of the need for rational, concrete party and state activities, of the necessity of coordinating activities in solving concrete problems and of the need to settle accounts consistently with those responsible for the crisis that has emerged in the country.

The next speaker in the discussion at the Fourth Central Committee Plenum was Zdzislaw Daniluk, member of the Central Committee and technician in the transporation equipment production workds PZL Swidnik in Lublin Voivodship. He dwelt in particular on the circulation of intra-party information about the current social, economic and political events. Describing the most important tasks of the party, Zdzislaw Daniluk said, among other things, that there have been enough declarations and it is necessary to start acting.

Edward Banicki, member of the Central Committee and technician in the Rawice railway car fittings plant Rawag, pointed out that it is no great art to adopt a party resolution, but it is an art to implement these resolutions uniformly throughout the party. The speaker also described the conditions that are essential for creating platforms for aggressive activity by party organizations.

Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, remarked at the outset of his speech that as a result of work by the commission, which closely cooperates with control bodies, regardless of [words indistinct] all the former members of the central party and government authorities against whom justified charges were made have been strictly called to account. Remaining cases of this sort, Jerzy Urbanski said, are still being consistently examined. The speaker pointed out the need to preserve both political prudence and firmness in this extremely difficult period.

The next speaker, Marian Orzechowski, member of the Central Committee and lecturer at Wroclaw University, stressed that in the present conditions it is necessary to struggle even more effectively and perseveringly against hostile ideological attacks, and to consolidate the strength, aggressiveness and leading role of the party. He stated that there can be no compromise in the sphere of ideology.

Next Albin Siwak, member of the Central Committee Politburo and brigade leader at the Warsaw-East housing construction enterprise, pointed out in reference to his meetings with workers, youth and representives of other milieus throughout the country that they are awaiting more consistent activity on the part of the party. People became filled with hope for improvement after the Ninth PZPR Congress, but this hope has not so far been met in reality. The party needs discipline and firm action, Albin Siwak stated. It is not slogans but deeds that count today. This is the condition for restoring belief in the party and in its capabilities. The line of accord should at the same time be a line of struggle for socialism. The speaker described the dramatic situation in the country, in the construction and construction materials industry, among others, and also pointed out the necessity to resolutely take measures aimed at improving the situation in this area. Albin Siwak had critical comments to make on some activities by the mass media. He stated that the degree of honesty in the information passed to the community often leaves much to be desired.

The discussion at the plenum so far, stated Zofia Stepien, Central Committee candidate member and worker at the Czestochowa plant of the Stradom flax enterprise, testifies to the fact that the issues raised concern the affairs of the entire party, of our entire community. Zofia Stepien pointed out the great responsibility that rests on workers who are members of central party authorities. The point is particularly to present at a forum, for instance of the Central Committee, the views and moods prevailing in party ranks. The difficult party work today, she stressed, is linked with the necessity to give a prompt and relevant answer to the hundreds of questions that are being asked.

The next speaker, Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the Warsaw party committee, referred to some themes and the atmosphere of the discussion that took place at the recent plenum of the Warsaw committee. He emphasized that ideological matters constituted the main current in the speeches. Events in Poland, the speaker stated, are still characterized by tension and an increasingly violent character. There are disputes about the line of accord. Stanislaw Kociolek proclaimed himself in favor of submitting to the Sejm a proposal that the government be granted extraordinary powers and in favor of a temporary suspension of the right to strike. Concrete actions are needed today; fireworks are superfluous. The entire party must be united in struggle, solid in crisis, Stanislaw Kociolek stated.

Jozef Mitak, member of the Central Committee and brigade leader at the Adolf Warski Shipyard in Szczecin, stated that the key to solving the acute socioeconomic crisis in the country lies in the situation in the party. The current settling of accounts is still not equal to the vigorous, consistent and resolute activity needed in the party.

Jerzy Slowinski, Central Committee candidate member and first secretary of the party municipal committee in Zyrardow, pointed out that the country's socioeconomic situation is constantly deteriorating. Nihilism and anarchy are spreading. It is difficult to detect a new style of work in the activity of the administration. In the view of the speaker, there is still too great a disparity between the quantity of words and deeds.

Artur Kwiatkowski, Central Committee member and private farmer from the village of [name indistinct] in Wloclawek Voivodship, pointed out some significant causes of the fact that the alliance between workers and peasants has weakened. This stems above all from the weakening of ties between towns and the countryside and from the breaking of unity between industry and agriculture. The speaker devoted a great deal of attention against this background to everyday difficulties with supplies of means of production encountered by farmers who live in the countryside.

Andrzej Gdula, first secretary of the voivodship committee in Bielsko Biala, in connection with the greatly complicated social, political and economic situation, defined some factors that are essential if the country is to come out of the crisis effectively. He recognized as a particularly pressing task the need for party members to define themselves. Verification of party ranks, he said, is taking place in an acute political struggle.

The next to take the floor was Maj Gen Wladyslaw Honkisz, member of the Presidium of the Central Auditing Commission and deputy head of the Central Political Board of the Polish Army. Referring to the results of the Solidarity congress, he stated, among other things, that the propaganda campaign being conducted under the auspices of the union leadership strikes at the essence of our alliances, at the ideological and political unity of the socialist community. As a matter of fact these activities are to the advantage of the aggressive imperialist circles which are intensifying the arms race. In this situation the activity of the party in the Army, he stressed, acquires special significance. The point here is above all to consolidate the cohesion and strength of the Polish People's Army. The speech by Wladyslaw Honkisz was the last in today's deliberations of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The deliberations will resume tomorrow morning.

PZPR Members

LD170510 Warsaw PAP in English 2300 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Oct (PAP) -- The PUWP CC went into a plenary session here today. The session was chaired by PUWP CC First Secretary Stanislaw Kania. He delivered a report "Political Situation in the Country and the Party's Key Tasks in the Implementation of Resolutions of the 9th PUWP Congress."

Member of the Political Bureau, PUWP CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski delivered a report "Some Problems and Directions of the Party's Ideological and Educational Activity in the Present Situation."

18 speakers took the floor during the discussion that followed.

The following people said they were quitting the Solidarity union: Aleksander [name indistinct], member of the CC, first secretary of a factory PUWP committee in Gorlice, Nowy Sacz Voivodship; Wanda Switalska, alternate member of the CC, telecommunications employee in Katowice; and a group of members of central party authorities in [word indistinct] voivodship -- 7 members of the CC and one member of the Central Commission of Party Control. They explained the grounds of their decision.

Head of the Central Commission of Party Control Jerzy Urbanski informed the CC about the commission's decision to expel Stefan Bratkowski, president of the Polish Journalists' Association, from the PUWP.

Referring to the issue of the publication printed in the SZTANDAR MLODYCH daily, member of the Political Bureau, CC Secretary Stefan Olszowski told the CC that the editors of the daily have recently been spoken to in connection with the interview with Jacek Kuron. The editor-in-chief of SZTANDAR MLODYCH has been recalled. Olszowski told the CC about the protest action staged by the staff of the daily, its reasons and the grounds for recalling the editor-in-chief.

The plenary debate will be resumed tomorrow morning.

Bratkowski Expelled From Party

LD161946 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] An investigatory team of the Central Commission for Party Control has, in the light of the party statute, examined the stature and activities of Stefan Bratkowski, journalist, and chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists.

Stefan Bratkowski, despite several promises and explanations made with regard to his public activities as a party member -- which often conflicted with party resolutions, statute norms and the party program -- failed to appear to face the party control team despite being summoned three times to the session.

The team, taking into consideration the previous warnings given before the Ninth PZPR Congress -- from which Stefan Bratkowski drew no conclusions -- and also his reluctance to explain to the statute party bodies the motives for his conduct, the Central Commission for Party Control has recognized that Stefan Bratkowski's activities make difficult the integration of the party journalistic milieu and the whole party with regard to implementation of the line of the ninth congress, and cannot be reconciled with points 16 and 17 of the statute which define the duties of journalists who are party members.

Stefan Bratkowski disorients public opinion: On the one hand he undermines party and government plans, and on the other he minimizes the threats arising from the activity of antisocialist forces.

The team has therefore decided to expel Stefan Bratkowski from the party.

REPORTAGE ON FOURTH PZPR PLENUM 17 OCT SESSION

Plenum Speeches Reported

LD171142 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1030 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Since 0830, the deliberations of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which began yesterday, have been continuing. A discussion is in progress on the reports delivered on Friday by Stanislaw Kania and Stefan Olszowski.

First to take the floor today was Marek Morzyszek, Central Committee member and foreman in the Polfa pharmaceutical works in Pabianice, who primarily spoke about matters linked with the difficult market situation. He also stated that it is necessary to (?replace) people by those who know how to, want to and are capable of acting. The speaker also announced that he has resigned from the Solidarity union.

The next speaker, Czeslaw Borowski, Central Committee member and master electrician in the Adamow power station in the pumping station at [place indistinct] in Konin Voivodship, sharply criticized the results of the first congress of NSZZ Solidarity, primarily the so-called message to the nations of Eastern Europe. The speaker brought into relief the role of the offensive activity [word indistinct] recognizing as one of the most important tasks concern for and protection of good party cadres who are facing, especially in the provinces, great and responsible duties.

The next speaker, Zbigniew Hanff, Central Committee member, miner-rescue worker in the Staszic collery in Katowice, stated that there should be an end to the passivity, as he put it, to the insolent attacks on the party and its leadership, a party with beautiful traditions and service. Let us begin to act energetically and firmly. Let us put an end to antisocialist provocation and let us strive effectively to overcome [word indistinct] chaos.

The next speaker stressed that the country is being lifted out of the crisis by the [word indistinct] worker and farmer, with the working intelligentsia helping. Our party must become a fighting party.

Candidate member of the Central Committee, first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee at the transportation equipment plant in Krakow, Jerzy Zieba, appealed for a consistent struggle against the threats to socialism, [words indistinct] the activities of extremists. He stated: We are not carrying on a fight with the members of Solidarity but for the members of Solidarity. A thorough analysis of the materials of the congress of this trade union organization is needed. Law and realism must win in People's Poland.

The next speaker was Czeslaw Kiszczak, Central Committee member, lieutenant general and minister of internal affairs. To start with, he made an analysis of the conclusions emerging from the course and decisions of the deliberations of the Solidarity congress. He stressed, among other things, that it is becoming increasingly evident that [words indistinct] of the manipulation of the union by our political opponents. The whole party, he said, united and energetically led, must enter into [words indistinct] opposition to all destructive phenomena.

Interior Minister Speaks

LD171342 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Now we return to the discussion at the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Next at the discussion was Czeslaw Kiszczak, Central Committee member, lieutenant general and minister of the interior, who took the floor.

In the introduction he carried out an analysis of the conclusions arising from the course and decision of the debates by the recent NSZZ Solidarity congress. He stressed, among other things, that even more visible and frequent are the facts of the manipulation of this union by our political opponents. The whole party, he said, joined together and united, efficiently guided, must join as a broad front in counteracting all destructive phenomena.

The speaker critically assessed the actions of Solidarity, which hamper the process of stabilizing the situation in the country. He indicated concrete examples of this in the various regions and voivodships. Forecasts for the future, he stated, appear very menacing, even explosive. This is indicated inter alia by the low level of political culture, the lowering of civic discipline, the increase in the activity of Western centers of subversion and espionage's dangers arising from the antinational, even anti-Polish bearing of some Solidarity activists.

Against a background of distressing figures, illustrating for example the growth in the number of criminal acts, and the audacity of their perpetrators, the speaker characterized the ways in which the organs of order and public harmony act.

He assured that -- despite the fierce attacks and attempts at disrupting the apparatus of prosecution from within -- this apparatus will not fail, having the awareness that it must act even better and more effectively.

Czeslaw Kiszczak stressed at the same time that the action of the organs of authority and public order must be supported by the initiative of the party organizations.

The next to speak at the fourth plenum was a Central Committee member and private farmer from the village of (Poniziny) in Augustow Parish in the Suwalki Voivodship, Tadeusz Jaglowski. With bitterness he spoke of the difficulties with which farmers have to cope today. The shortcomings arise, among other things, from the organizational inertia of administration, and from the too sluggish undertaking and implementation of decisions. This leads to a bad situation in the procurement of agricultural products. The speaker put forward the motion to give greater powers to the Ministry of Agriculture. (?We wish to) bring about more intensive production for the benefit of the countryside, to put prices in order.

Also the next participant in the discussion, a Central Committee member and private farmer from the village [word indistinct] in the Olsztyn Voivodship, Kazimierz Dudek, took up the problems of the countryside, giving particular consideration to the matters of supplying the urban population with food.

He spoke of concrete undertakings which could contribute to an improvement in today's dramatic situation. He stated that there are possibilities and reserves for stepping up deliveries of food items from the towns, on the condition that the farmers obtain conditions favoring this.

PZPR Officials Speak

LD171510 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1400 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] The discussion at the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum is in progress. So far several dozen speakers have taken the floor.

Here are the successive speeches by the discussion participants which we have just received via the POLISH PRESS AGENCY.

Jerzy Maniawski, Central Committee member and first secretary of the PZPR Works Committee in the nitrogen works in Tanrow, spoke of the great responsibility of the Central Committee for the party. He stated that it is necessary to adopt a consistent stance toward the current events, since the arguments of the party aktiv are considered by the community not through the prism of words uttered, but by the proper supplying of the population with staple items.

Speaking of the dramatic state of our economy, Jerzy Maniawski stated that it is necessary to create a front of national salvation, on the basis of a genuine socialist Poland, to return authentic values to socialism.

The next discussion participant, Central Committee Secretary Zbigniew Michalek, characterizing this year's results in agriculture, stated that one should not drop into a state of euphoria, since in many important fields -- especially if one looks at the results of procurement -- the effects are not so great. In the opinion of the speaker, just how things will be in Poland depends on two professional groups: the miners and the farmers. The means of production in agriculture should be divided on the basis of how a given person delivers, and not how he produces.

In turn Stanislaw Blonski, Central Committee member and private farmer from the village of [name indistinct] in the parish of Dynow, Przemysl Voivodship, pointed out that the breakdown in procurement is caused by the lack of supplying farmers with equipment, coal and means of agricultural production. It is necessary to create conditions for the farmers which would guarantee them a profitable and effective production.

The main causes for the antagonisms recently coming into being between the town and the countryside, between the workers and the peasants, were dealt with by a private farmer from the village of Zlobizna in the parish of Brzeg in Opole Voivodship, Michal Tarcynski. He characterized these matters against a background of the emergence of the so-called black market, and the supply difficulties -- mainly with meat and its products.

Matters of agriculture and the situation of the food supply were also mentioned by Jerzy Wojtecki, Central Committee member and minister of agriculture and food economy. In his opinion it is precisely people from the town who demoralize the peasants, traveling to the countryside and offering higher prices for meat. Jerzy Wojtecki also presented a preliminary evaluation of this year's harvest, explained the causes of the recent decisions connected with the desire to activate procurement, and spoke of the forecasts for the food market.

The implementation of economic reform is dragging on too long, stated Jerzy Dul [first name as heard], Central Committee member, electrician and brigade leader at the Stalowa Wola metalworks. The workers are concerned over the lack of action, while in the meantime the situation in production is subject to deterioration day by day; and the supply to the population is becoming ever more dramatic.

The next participant in the discussion, Bogdan Borys, Central Committee member, mechanic and brigade leader in the Bierut metalworks in Czestochowa, confided on the feelings of his workforce on the subject of the rather inconspicuous results in improving the situation. He stated that the conflicts are multiplying for various reasons; the previous anticrisis undertakings do not correspond to the profoundity of the crisis.

The discussion at the Fourth Central Committee Plenum continues.

Debate Continues

LD171814 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1602 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The Fourth PZPR Plenum is continuing its debate in Warsaw. A debate has been in progress since the morning. More than 20 speakers have spoken so far. We have reported some of the speeches in previous bulletins; here are the accounts of a few more, received from PAP.

Jozef Jarmala, member of the Central Committee and an electrican from Turow coalmine in Pogatynia, Jelenia Gora Voivodship, devoted his speech to matters connected with the conditions of effective, aggressive party action. He stressed that as in any other country the state authority must be strong in Poland. It must provide a sense of security for every citizen. At today's plenum, he said, it is necessary to give a clear-cut and precise answer to the question: What price should be paid for the defense of socialism?

Krzysztof Dorosz, member of the Central Committee and a private farmer from Mokre in the parish of Lomazy, Biala Podlaska Voivodship, presented the tasks arising at present in connection with the improvement of supplies to rural areas and to agriculture, especially the supply of means of production.

Marian Kasprzycki, member of the Central Committee and shop steward at the state railroad car factory in Wroclaw Voivodship, began his speech by describing recent cases of sham action being taken merely to impress, without there being much in the way of specific results. He stressed that the nation deeply feels the need for an official language that is clear and unambiguous. If we want to put the party on to the right path, he stressed, we must resolutely purge its ranks of all people who are cynical, passive and lack genuine faith. What is also necessary is an iron consistency in the implementation of resolutions. The speaker devoted much attention to the market situation. He stressed that in the conditions of a rationing system being in existence there should be goods awaiting customers rather than customers awaiting goods; however, in the recent conditions the opposite is true. This has repercussions in various spheres: from production in the manufacturing industry to the ineffectiveness of propaganda measures.

Zbigniew Michalek, secretary of the Central Committee, said that when referring to the functioning of the rationing system we must take into account the fact that the situation varies from one voivodship to another, among other things, because of the differences in the efficiency of organization of the system in various parts of the country. It is necessary to utilize the experience of the best results in the organization of supplies under the rationing system because it is not likely that the rationing system for staple products will be terminated soon. As regards the deliveries of agricultural equipment it must be stated that the relevant measures have been launched, but that the results will not be felt immediately. On the other hand, the supply of meat and farm produce, which the population requires, must be delivered urgently. In the speaker's opinion, just how things will be in Poland depends on two professional groups: the miners and the farmers. The Central Committee secretary described the special role played by the publicly owned sector of agriculture in the provision of supplies for the population; at the same time he noted the mediocre results of the procurement of farm produce by private farmers. In his opinion the means of production in agriculture should be divided on the basis of how a farm delivers rather than how it produces. There are villages which collect more on their ration cards than they sell to the consumers. Zbigniew Michalek also spoke of the need to strengthen the Polish zloty and of the creation of conditions for agricultrual development. He said that the promises of private farmers have not been kept, and contrary to the announcements less and less food from private farms is finding its way to the market.

Zbigniew Kowalski, candidate member of the Central Committee and lecturer at Gdansk Polytechnic, stressed that in the present conditions the style and the direction of the program work of party authorities must give genuine assistance to the basic party organizations which are daily coping with many difficulties. The speaker also raised a far from rhetorical question: How should the line of compromise be reflected in the party's practical activities, and what are the limits of our concessions? He also referred to the new formula for the National Unity Front and stressed that initiative from the grassroots must be given a free hand, initiative serving the formation of a joint front of action in the interests of the country.

The expectations and views in connection with the current Central Committee Plenum were referred to by Roman Golinski, member of the Central Committee and driver of the municipal road transportation of Inowroclaw, who presented proposals submitted at the recent meeting of his local party organization. He spoke of the multiplying causes for the reduction in the pulse rate of party life, and said that society today is disorganized and yields easily to emotions. The effort of the whole party is directed in these conditions, unfortunately, mainly to ad hoc treatment of the problems that arise.

These were brief accounts of some of the speeches in the discussion at the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum.

Madej Addresses Plenum

LD172200 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum is continuing its session in Warsaw.

Much is being said in the discussion at the Fourth Plenum about economic reform. There are opinions expressed to the effect that its introduction is being too protracted. Workers are disturbed by the lack of action, while the situation in industrial production is deteriorating daily.

Referring to the opinions in the discussion, Deputy Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission attached to the Council of Ministers, characterized the work of the government in the present period. He recalled that the government is acting with a new composition and in a new style.

Profound personnel changes have occurred in government positions, while a particular feature of the authorities' current action is the wide use being made of expertise, advice and consultation, especially in the area of social policy. In accordance with the Ninth PZPR Congress resolutions the main task is to emerge from the crisis. No one ever stated that this process would be short-lived in our country, but there are signs that it will not last as long as is maintained by those who would wish to sow doubt and confusion. Although the crisis we have is deep, we cannot fail to respect the fundamental principles of the socialist system, and that is why a protective zone [strefa ochronna] is being created in the areas which are most vitally relevant to the interest and welfare of society. This concerns the health service, culture, the needs of children and the young people, and the living conditions of old age and other pensioners.

If we wished to present briefly the agricultural situation, it is such as to enable us to speak of good harvest; but things look bad as regards procurement. The deputy premier spoke of anticipated government moves aimed at a greater interest in the rural areas in the sale of agricultural productions. The rural areas will receive preferential treatment in the supply of the industrial goods which it needs.

Zbigniew Madej also stressed the importance of coal, which represents the key to the whole economy. Here, too, concepts with which hopes of an improvement are connected are being formulated. The deputy premier referred to the problems that come in the wake of the approaching winter in this context. He stated that protest actions will not create goods. What is essential is a productive effort, full of civic responsibility, especially in coal mining and in the processing of agricultural produce.

Following this a discussion began, devoted to the draft resolution of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. Statements on this matter relate to the precise definition of particular portions of this resolution. Proposals and remarks connected both with the analysis of the present sociopolitical and economic situation of the country and with the ensuing tasks for party members and also the party organizations and echelons are being submitted. Much attention is also being devoted, in connection with the draft resolution, to ideological matters and the action of the PZPR in this direction.

PAP Summary of Plenum Speeches

LD172040 Warsaw PAP in English 1720 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Oct (PAP) -- Participants in the discussion at the 4th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee, which started here yesterday, criticized the Political Bureau for ineffectiveness, pointed to lack of contacts between the PUWP leadership starting from the voivodship level and its rank-and-file membership, called for verification of party members, stressed the need for concrete actions and came out in favour of a tougher line in terms of politics and economy in view of an all-out offensive launched by antisocialist forces in this country, and criticized the failure to put PUWP Congress and plenary decisions into operation.

Speakers criticized the line of social agreement on grounds of the Solidarity unwillingness to cooperate. With an eye to the results of the recent Solidarity congress, which -- they said -- proved the union has transformed into a political opposition organization, a number of Central Committee members with Solidarity affiliation declared that they quit the union.

Participants in the debate criticized the government for taking no concrete measures and for making ineffective moves, charged it with a failure to implement Central Committee resolutions.

Next we give a summary of some speeches.

Zofia Grzyb, member of the CC Political Bureau and forewoman at "Radoskor" leather industry plant in Radom: "The Solidarity congress unambiguously defined the character of the union as an opposition political party with a negative and downright hostile attitude to socialism and the party," the speaker said. In this connection she, herself a Solidarity member, announced her decision to quit the union.

"With my continued presence in Solidarity I would accept not only what good is happening in our plant but also the designs of the extremist elements in the union's national and regional leadership.

"Things are getting from bad to worse, production is falling, the shelves in shops are now almost totally empty, the party is in disarray and many party organizations are stagnant. Our people feel no support from the party governing bodies and they ceased to believe that overcoming the crisis is possible. Many are returning their party cards. This is why I am wondering whether while proclaiming the just line of agreement we have not lost sight of its implementation? We are all for agreement, but the questions are: With whom, on what terms and at what price? Does agreement mean the handing over of power? The question of where are we heading for much springs to mind," Zofia Grzyb said.

Marian Orzechowski, CC member, lecturer at the Wroclaw University: "The ideological situation in the party and the society as a whole is determined above all by the offensive of anti-socialist forces, which is now acquiring a total character, including all spheres of social consciousness, all social classes and groups, primarily the intelligentsia and, for obvious reasons, the working class and the youth. It is in sophisticated anti-communism that I see the main danger and the basic front of struggle for socialism.

"In the field of ideology there can be no compromise. In connection with this I would like to point out that so far our party has not determined its standpoint towards the declaration of 35 intellectuals which has gained massive support also from party members. I personally think that the declaration is an ideologically vicious document and that we should determine our attitude toward it."

Orzechowski also said: "We must consistently carry on an offensive not only in the field of ideology, but, first of all, in economy and politics. We will not win the heart and minds of the people unless we bring under control the growing tragedy of queues, which may lead to uncontrolled social unrest of unpredictable consequences."

Andrzej Gdula, first secretary of Bielsko-Biala PUWP Voivodship Committee: "The tragic scarcity of market supplies, the continuing deterioration of the economic situation, the imperilled state of public security threaten a national catastrophe any minute. There are two possible ways out of the situation: either consistent implementation of the 9th PUWP Congress programme, that of necessary reforms, or, depending on the evaluation of the present possibilities and experience of the past year, introduction of the state of emergency in Poland. The latter means suspending reforms, democracy, exercise of civic liberties at the cost of guaranteeing the basic means of living, the rule of law and social order.

"This is a difficult and painful solution, one which may provoke more threats, but the party leadership, the prime minister, should give us a decisive unambiguous answer on the matter. One thing that is certain is that we cannot end this meeting achieving nothing, sending out another appeal which the society will not respond to.

"It is necessary to restore all weekdays as working days, at least for six months, freeze incomes for a year and consider introduction of obligatory national loan."

The speaker pointed to the need for the Political Bureau to carry out a review and verification of the Central Committee cadres.

Albin Siwak, member of the CC Political Bureau, foreman at the Warsaw-East construction firm, said: "On the one hand the process of determining the liability of the previous leadership has not yet been completed, on the other, party cards are not being taken away from those who waged an open war against our party. At consecutive plenary meetings we have been adopting resolutions to fight KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee], KPN [Confederation for an Independent Poland], what happens then? Instead of showing who Kuron really is, the SZTANDAR MLODYCH youth daily has enabled him to present himself in a lamb's disguise as a positive hero of the renewal. Is that supposed to be the line of renewal?

"I often express my views on Solidarity, but contrary to various insinuations, I am not an enemy of that organization. There are workers in the union just like me, and we have a common workers' interest. [Words indistinct] blind to make deals with anti-socialist politicizers, who are transforming Solidarity into an opposition party, instead of seeking agreement with the nation as determined by the 9th congress. One will not get anywhere by displaying submissiveness and making concessions to enemies of socialism. One must face the truth: The enemy is well organized and has been operating for years. We are paying a very high price today for underestimating the enemy's strength.

"It is necessary to undertake a great programmatic offensive, to make clear in what direction Solidarity is heading after its congress. It is necessary to control the situation in the press and the destructive activities of the Journalists' Association leadership. When will personal changes in GAZETA KRAKOWSKA, GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA, GLOS WYBRZEZA and other such papers eventually take place?

"The Warsaw party organization sees a platform for agreement with the nation, however not for sharing power with Solidarity and the church, which would do everything to overthrow the party and take over the power."

Stanislaw Kociolek, first secretary of the PUWP Warsaw Committee: "Important solutions concerning the most vital problems have become entangled and got lost in conflicts imposed on the country, the party and the government by rampant rightwing forces, self-appointed exponents of the will of the nation and its aspirations. They are the jugglers of a bad cause, anti-national elements. They, above all, are to blame for the tragic balance sheet of answers to these questions. Time is running out. We are losing the present day and we may be cursed by future generations. Last year's agreements opened the path for important changes in the Polish trade union movement. But today this is no more a trade union, for its leaders have breached these agreements. Through instigation of the rightwing which grouped itself round the leading ruling bodies, a political movement calling itself a social or nation-wide movement has evolved. Its ambitions are unlimitable, it wants to be and play the role of sovereign towards the Sejm, the government, the administration of justice, towards all and everything which is organised, self-governed, constitutional or social. Strikes have impovished the country materially but they have wrought the greatest damage to the structure and functioning of the state. I think it is time to state in the full majesty of the political principles of the socialist Poland and the constitutional order of the law that the agreements have been broken by one side. And the perpetrator of that breach has only one choice -- return to the role accorded to it by these agreements."

Speaking about the actual blocking of the government's economic activity and about anarchy, the speaker proposed that the Sejm approve a law equipping the government with extraordinary powers regarding economic matters for a period of about three years. At the same time the speaker proposed that the right to strike be suspended for the same period, under strength of law.

General Wladyslaw Honkisz, member of the Presidium of the Central Audit Commission, deputy chief of the Polish Army's Central Political Board. Referring to assaults at the recent Solidarity congress on the country's defence capability, its alliances, as well as the entire Polish People's Army and to articles, appeals, resolutions and statements signed by Solidarity leaders and chapters, the speaker said:

"All this arouses our understandable soldierly and civic indignation. All sorts of 'remedies' proposed by Solidarity are all the more astonishing as they are put forth at a time when demands for the revision of our frontiers on the Odra and Nysa are fanned behind the Elbe, when the West is stepping up armaments and the United States has begun implementing the monstrous programme of strategic armaments."

"We shall cherish as the apple of our eye the brotherhood-in-arms with the Soviet Army and other armies of the socialist defense system -- the foundation of security and peaceful development of People's Poland. We shall do everything to eliminate from daily practice that which weakens the defense capability and security of the country -- anarchization of social life which destroys the economy, violation of internal and international co-production links, and the undermining of political, economic and military alliances."

"The meetings we have held recently with party activists at works enterprises entitle us to formulate the conclusion that it is possible to heighten involvement in the defence of the socialist state provided the party programme and ideology is brought directly to the working people. The situation is ripe for changing the method of work so that activists work with the people and not the other way round."

Jerzy Urbanski, chairman of the Central Party Control Commission, referring to the problem of accountability of persons responsible for the existing crisis was against appointing a special commission by the Central Committee. He said instead that the Central Committee must give final and clear-cut instructions on the matter. "The point is to recognize that persons responsible for the crisis should bear political and moral consequences. On the other hand, we must guard against creating privileges and even situations which might lead the public to conclude that those guilty are still enjoying a privileged status. I believe that this is precisely what the society is blaming us for. So let them live the life of an ordinary citizen."

"I am unconvinced that the recently multiplying demands for political or criminal trials of persons responsible for the crisis are right. I see great dangers for the party in the calls demanding such trials. For the matter may be extended indefinitely and the blame apportioned to those directly responsible for the crisis, but also to those who took up the task of socialist renewal and those also, who, in good faith, implemented resolutions and decisions of the former party and government leadership. After all, such reasoning was rejected by the 9th PUWP Congress. But I am for a speedy beginning of trials of persons whose guilt has been documented, such as Szczepanski and Patyk, and other persons from the former government team suspected of having gained profits from abusing their official positions or guilty of other offences. (?We) have to discern between accountability for political errors and for economic mismanagement resulting in the present crisis, and abuse of official positions for personal profits and ordinary offences. In my opinion, regarding the former case the matter should be declared closed, but with regard to the latter the cases must be dealt with consistently and more efficiently by the prosecuting organs, the courts, as well as the Central Party Control Commission when party members are involved."

Czeslaw Borowski, member of the CC, foreman electrician at the "Adamow" power plant, Konin Voivodship, said that anti-socialist forces have been organizing themselves and growing more active since August 1980. They have been using Solidarity meetings to wage open political struggle, a war. If we are to fight the anti-socialist forces, the party must immediately launch an offensive. This is the end of our patience and the party's humbleness, he stated.

The Council of State of the Polish People's Republic must analyse the usefulness of the judiciary; only those who apply the law for the defence of the fundamental principles of socialism and the defence of the citizens may be judged.

Borowski requested an early convocation of an extraordinary conference of delegates to the 9th PUWP Congress.

He addressed a separate appeal to the Political Bureau, to Premier Jaruzelski: If the situation continues the way it is now and the results of the party's offensive after the 4th plenum remain the same, let the premier not forget that he is the Minister of National Defence, which also entails the defence of the party and socialism. They are the essential goals of our party he stressed.

Jerzy Zieba, alternate member of the CC, first secretary of a factory PUWP Committee in Krakow said that according to him the language used at the plenary session cannot be used for talking with the society, for convincing workers who are not party members. First of all, we must remember that we are not fighting to defeat Solidarity members, but to win them over. What do I feel is missing in the evaluation of the Solidarity congress pronounced by the Political Bureau? I feel an objective evaluation of the (?first) Solidarity congress is missing. We cannot go to workers with the single statement that the whole programme, all the resolutions of the Solidarity congress are nothing but counter-revolution. I think we need a matter-of-fact analysis of those resolutions.

The community of workers where I work ask three fundamental questions about the line of concord, namely: With whom are we to pursue this line, where do its limits lie, and at what cost is it to be pursued.

Firstly, we want to pursue this line with all, I repeat: with all those who care to overcome the political, economic and moral crisis, with all who will choose this line to rescue the country.

Secondly, the limits of this line are: our system, Poland's territory, paid for in the blood shed in World War II and then recognized at the Potsdam conference, our alliances which provide for national security, and Poland's foreign policy, which is a consequence of the principles of the system.

Thirdly, and this is the most important part of the moot "the line of concord," it may never, under any circumstances, be the price of blood, Zieba said.

Zbigniew Hanff, CC member, miner-rescuer at the Staszic mine in Katowice: "We must start acting resolutely and reasonably. The society is tired, the country is plunging into chaos. The working people must be provided with a living standard at a level allowing for more effective work for the country and themselves work undisturbed by the worries and squabbles of every day. This however will not be achieved by the government and our party alone. As the Central Committee we must do everything in our capacity not to let the working class be led into quarrels and confrontations.

"The crisis in this country can be overcome only by workers and farmers, with significant help from the intelligentsia. It will surely not be done by politicizers of various hues, who operate freely on all possible fronts. We must unambiguously decide whether we will only keep on discussing and debating, or whether we will get down to hard work.

"I, an ordinary miner, declare before you that all those who think that the way to overcome the crisis is only through threatening a confrontation, are mistaken. I, and others like me, will prevent that from happening."

Marian Kasprzycki, member of the CC, foreman at Wroclaw's Pafawag railcar factory said: The hopes the working class pinned on the work of the newly elected party authorities of all levels have not been fulfilled. It (?seemed that), after such far-reaching changes as took place in the composition of the CC, the Political Bureau and the Secretariat we would start work on which hopes could be pinned for a gradual improvement of the socio-political situation. In fact, the changes have been limited to the foundation of several bodies, teams and commissions which produce a mass of various analyses and programmes. This is make-believe activity, which does not go beyond study rooms and conference halls.

This activity is attentively watched and criticised by rank-and-file party members and by masses of the unaffiliated. Evidence of this is the lack of trust in the party and further resignations of party membership. One could say we do not care about quantity, but the quality of our comrades. One should think over this problem: If such a situation persists, will our party not lose its subject -- the worker backbone; will it not become a team of people of second-rank significance? We must speak to people using a language different from the one used so far, a concrete language without hackneyed phrases. Many people in top posts in the party and administration seem unable to do that. If we want to lead the party on the right road, we should dismiss those people. In particular, this holds for full-time employees of the party apparatus of all levles. Those posts are haven for the disgraced activists who have done nothing concrete and who still do not feel like doing anything.

Since the 9th congress the Central Committee and the Political Bureau have been adopting resolutions which, correct as they are, have not been consistently implemented. We cannot afford that luxury for the whole party and all activists to pay for the Political Bureau's inefficiency, its lack of consistent activity. A war of declarations is a mistaken strategy when counter-revolution wins more and more footholds.

Because of immense market shortages nothing of our party's propaganda activity is properly received in factories, it misses the target. We should provide credibility in practice to the motto: The party leads, the government governs and the nation controls, Kasprzycki said.

Jerzy Maniawski, member of the CC, first secretary of the nigrogen works PUWP Committee in Tarnow said: How come the idea called the line of concord has changed into a line of discord? I believe the main reason is the lack of social trust in the party, justified with the discovered deformations and mistakes and the party authorities' dilly-dallying in punishing the guilty. This distrust is also due to the fact that the decisions resulting from the resolutions and the spirit of the 9th Extraordinary PUWP Congress have not been implemented in practice. It is due to vague, even dilatory activity, which leads many party members to believe that there is no accord in the Political Bureau. This creates a political climate in which honest party members face the blame of the public opinion as associates in guilt. This prompts suspicions of destructive activity aimed at discrediting and tearing our party apart in the interest of reactionary, counter-revolutionary forces.

Conservative forces opposed to renewal and the political enemy -- the right launched an offensive after the 9th congress. [sentence as received] It must be made clear that the vital interest of the Polish nation demands that none of those groups may win. Victory must go to political realism and socialism. However, for that to happen, our party must regain credibility, not through professions and words, but through concrete action. The party must show the nation a concrete vision of the future economic and political model. I believe the Hungarian model is a perfect example of an economic model likely to receive broad social endorsement. It is a tested model and not a utopia. I think that using the experiences of the Hungarian People's Republic and the fraternal Hungarian party in the fighting of the consequences of the political and social crisis could help our party in the present difficult political situation, Maniawski said.

Bogdan Borys, CC member and foreman locksmith at Beirut steel complex in Czestochowa: "I often hear from workers, party members, that we have not moved forward even by one step. We still have no convincing agruments that the party is able to bring the country out of the crisis. Perliminary materials prepared for the present plenum indicate that consolidation of party activists in progressing. The fact is however that we are in disarray, unable to collect ourselves.

"We cannot blame people that they cannot (?satisfy) hunger with the programme and resolutions of party conferences. Although the party's ideological-educational activity is very important, it seems not to be a priority matter at this moment.

"One way for the party to regain confidence is consistent implementation of resolutions. The matter of accountability of persons responsible for the present crisis and guilty of ordinary offences must be finally settled. The party must free itself of this burden. We are unconvinced by arguments that party disciplinary measures, be they most severe, are sufficient penalty.

"Certain members of the Political Bureau additionally perform government and administrative functions. Party members are of the opinion that those persons should now devote themselves to work in the Political Bureau. At all times, and especially today, the Political Bureau should be always complete and concerned exclusively with problems of our party."

Jozef Dul, CC member and mechanical engineer at Stalowa Wola steel complex, referred to Stefan Ciszowski's statement who tackled ideological issues. He said: "These matters look very well spoken from the rostrum. There is no need to answer a lot of questions and all one has to do is deliver a speech. I would like to invite you, Comrade Secretary, to pay a visit to the 4,000-strong party organisation at Stalowa Wola steel works and see for yourself what the situation is like among the workers, and what problems can be raised and what kind education fits best party organisations."

"Comrade Kania says that production is falling, and he is right. But where is the 80 percent production still leaving factories and works enterprises?

"Lack of faith in the possibility of improvement of the situation causes frustration among workers, contributes to the evolution of radical postures and may lead many people to commit uncontrollable acts. Concerned about the good of the socialist society and the country, we feel that it is time for the prime minister to remove from the government and local administration inefficient persons and replace them with people who will guarantee the establishment in Poland of an authority strong by its wisdom and capable of leading the country out of the present economic and political crisis. Comrade Premier, how much longer are we going to wait for indispensable personnel changes which will make credible the government's determination rapidly to improve the country's economic situation?"

Zbigniew Kowalski, alternate member of the Central Committee and lecturer at Gdansk Technical University: "Resolutions of the present plenum should contribute to the elaboration of a formula of a national concord offering a chance of arriving at a constructive solution of our political and social problems."

"The present state of affairs is due above all to three reasons. First, the many years long progressing distortion of ideological, political and organisational principles in the functioning of the party. The party is ailing, and the symptoms of the ailment include diversity and sharpness of political views presented, ideological weakness, moral corruption of a considerable part of party activists, and negative selection as a result of which people deprived of ideals, all kinds of opportunists and careerists were preferred for managerial posts.

"The second reason of ineffective operation is the absence of a working party programme which would translate resolutions of the 9th congress into the language of political practice. The third reason is linked to the work of the newly elected party governing bodies of all levels."

"I would like to refer to the definition of a new formula of activity of the National Unity Front. Approving fully of the proposal put forth by the Political Bureau, I deem it necessary for the Central Committee to address itself to the working class, to the works party organisations, trade unions and youth organisations appealing to them to create unity from the base upwards, on the basis of community and indivisibility of interests of the working class, based on the sense of responsibility for the work enterprises, for the destinies of the country and the state.

"The new trade union Solidarity should become the full-fledged member of the national concord now in the making. The accumulation of the programme ideas of the 9th congress, the trade unions, social forces and groupings is so great that their common implementation will assure national salvation. This must be done. We must not allow that the working class be divided into opposing and fighting political groups."

Marek Morzyszek, member of the CC, foreman at "Polfa" pharmaceutical works in Pabianice, said that when taking any decisions now, the authorities must be careful not to provoke more unnecessary tension. Our top-level or local authorities have issued so many decrees which provoked social protest.

The activity of basic party organizations is still paralysed. One of the reasons is the continuing lack of fast and realiable information. There is general criticism that the resolutions adopted at the 9th congress and plenary sessions of the CC are not implemented. Slogans and appeals alone are useless. We need concrete actions which will give our party credibility. The party is still on the defensive.

The executive of the Pabianice city PUWP Committee issued a statement saying its members see no more prospects for efficient work and the fulfillment of their statutory duties unless the 4th CC Plenum takes a conclusive decision on legally-prescribed punishment of top party and state officials responsible for the severe crisis of the country's economy and appraises each comrade responsible for the management of the party and the state after the 9th congress, unless it takes binding decisions to verify political employees on non-elected posts in authorities of all levels, starting from the CC.

More on Madej, Kiszczak

LD181516 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 18 Oct 81

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- Vice-Premier Zbigniew Madej, chairman of the Planning Commission at the Council of Ministers, referred to the work of the government. "For a couple of months now the thoroughly changed government has been working in new style. Since February last 90 per cent of the cabinet members are new ministers," said Madej.

On the 9th PUWP Congress programme of overcoming the crisis, Vice-Premier Madej said that if next year proved equally favourable for agriculture, within two years' time the crisis could be overcome in the field of grain and vegetable production, and tangible results are already in evidence on the market. Chances are good that the crisis situation in livestock production may be surmounted in about three years' time and in industrial output in 3-4 years' time. In about five years the national income is expected to reach the level before the crisis.

"As far as agriculture is concerned, we have good crops but a poor purchasing system. This is why the government is contemplating a speedy introduction of a barter system in agriculture offering goods for goods," said Madej.

Saying that the government's offer of paying double wages for Saturday work in collieries and a free day in addition was boycotted by miners, the speaker declared that new proposals covering wages and supplies for workers in the mining industry will be shortly presented to those concerned.

Referring to delays connected with the introduction of the economic reform, a problem raised by some speakers, Vice-Premier Madej said that the reform, entering in force on January 1, 1982, will not settle all matters. Unless we work hard, reform or no reform we will not get more bread.

Vice-Premier Madej went on: "Concern was expressed here in connection with the approaching winter. Let me say that the threat of natural disaster arises not only from excessively low temperatures. It may come about when the economy is at a low ebb, coal output and liquid fuel production drops below the necessary minimum, and so is the sale to the state of meat, regardless of political differences; from a purely economic point of view I would like to declare a state of economic alert for the coming winter. [Sentence as received] I join in the opinion of all those who called for the Sejm to approve legislation suspending strikes. It is also necessary to appeal for social work on all workfree Saturdays over the winter in such industries as raw material mining, agricultural processing and fuel distribution.

General Czeslaw Kiszczak, CC member and minister for internal affiars: "As a result of the Solidarity congress, a qualitatively new, highly disturbing situation has emerged. The course of the congress debate, its resolution and programme constitute in fact the doctrine of an opposition political party striving to dismantle the structures of the socialist state and gradually take over power.

During the congress, persons and groups striving to create new illegal and hostile political structures have come to the fore. They must be neither underestimated nor neglected. A considerable proportion of the Solidarity resolutions and programme concentrates on criticism and negation of the achievements of People's Poland. They are almost totally deprived of a positive and constructive action programme towards the socialist state and filled with demagogic slogans and demands addressed to the authorities.

Most Solidarity top leaders and the organization's chapters are doing everything to torpedo all government efforts and initiatives. They are in fact implementing directives formulated by ideologues from extreme circles and groupings hostile to socialism who are guided by the assumption that bringing the country to economic ruin is the road to the takeover of power.

To take over power the enemies of socialism want to take advantage of social tensions connected with the difficult market situation. They are fanning these tensions with protest actions and strikes and are trying to set up structures to wield control over the economy. Far from helping to improve the situation, such actions only lead to ever bigger disorganization of production and distribution.

The atmosphere of lawlessness has reached in Poland inadmissible proportions which cannot be further tolerated. Some Solidarity leaders believe they are above law and want the entire union to be exempt from law. Outside threats are also intensifying. Their principal cause is the policy pursued by extreme imperialist circles which is based on the assumption that the Polish crisis is the most effective instrument in political and ideological confrontation with the socialist camp.

The country is more and more threatened by espionage. Instances of penetration largely by workers of intelligence organizations in capitalist countries have considerably increased."

General Kiszczak continued: "As regards relations with foreign countries, irresponsible, downright anti-Polish activity by some opposition leaders breeds many dangers. The contacts they have with well-known operatives of Western intelligence agencies and anti-Polish centres of ideological subversion cannot but arouse astonishment and suspicions. There are provided facts that, talking to (Westerners), some leaders argue that giving Poland economic and financial aid is pointless since, as they say, it only strengthens the present authority.

The society is alarmed by the steady deteriorating state of order and a public security caused by lax social discipline and the spread of lawlessness.

"In spite of numerous insinuations at home and abroad, nobody can prove that the Ministry of Internal Affiars organs are combating Solidarity as a union. We only take action when the law is breached, when counter-revolutionary threat is evident. In our actions we are guided by prudence and take into account all possible [word indistinct] and consequences of these actions.

We have succeeded substantially to reduce the phenomenon of all kinds of anti-Soviet actions. This has been achieved both through decisive penal measures and preventive actions."

General Kiszczak continued: "In the discussion speakers raised the matter of responsibility of persons who in the past occupied leading posts and abused their official positions having acquired material and personal gains. I want to inform the meeting that investigations against 194 such persons of whom 89 are already in custody are being conducted by the ministry's investigators and the Prosecutor's Office. Many cases have already been completed and brought to trial.

The party cannot afford to draw back any further. The motherland has found itself in an extraordinary situation which calls for institution of determined party, political and all other indispensable measures to lead the country out of the socio-political and economic crisis in conditions of a proper state of law and public order."

'State of War' Draft Resolution

NC171745 Paris AFP in English 1740 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Oct (AFP) -- The Polish Communist Party Central Committee meeting here adjourned today after working out a draft resolution authorizing the government to declare a "state of war" of necessary, unofficial sources said.

The resolution, which has not yet been put to a vote of Central Committee members, would also authorize the government to suspend the right to strike and to renegotiate the clauses regarding labor rights of the accords worked out in Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie last year.

The meeting resumes tomorrow (Sunday) morning, and in the meantime the Central Committee will contact regional party committees for their views on the draft resolution.

Under the Polish Constitution, a "state of war", equivalent to a state of emergency, has to be voted by parliament.

Speakers Urge Consultation

LD172322 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Today, Saturday, was the second day of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The debate on the speeches made on Friday by Stanislaw Kania, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and by Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, continued. The debate also dealt with the draft plenum documents. The debate was chaired by Stanislow Kania.

Several speakers, referring to the PZPR statute, proposed that the resolution of the fourth plenum be adopted only following consultation on it in the basic party organizations.

Resolutions Adopted

LD171911 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Excerpt] In numerous speeches at the PZPR Central Committee Plenum today party affairs were mentioned.

There was demand for action. There must be an end to the passive attitude toward impudent attacks against the party and its leadership. In order to lead the PZPR in proper ways and to regain trust and authority in the community, party ranks should be thoroughly purged of cynical and passive people, and people of little faith.

The plenum has adopted two resolutions: the first concerning the setting up of a commission for preparing the long-term PZPR program, the second on setting up a team for the preparation of the synthesis of the history of the Polish workers' movement. Also a plan has been approved for the Central Committee plenums until the end of June next year.

The programmatic resolution of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum is expected to be adopted tomorrow. Thus the second day of debates has ended. They will be resumed at 1000 tomorrow.

REPORTAGE ON FOURTH PZPR PLENUM 18 OCT SESSION

Program Resolution, Appeal

LD181336 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1330 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] The fourth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee resumed its debate this morning. A program resolution was passed unanimously in which, against the background of a socioeconomic analysis, the tasks for all organizations and echelons of the PZPR are defined.

The Central Committee made an appeal to the working masses of the towns and countryside, stressing that it was prompted by a sense of responsibility for the fate of the country and the economy; for settling matters in the homeland in accordance with the assumptions of socialist renewal. Only commonsense and the joint effort of the whole of society can halt the dramatic course of events in our country, runs the appeal unanimously passed by the PZPR Central Committee, assembled at its fourth plenary session.

Programmatic Resolution

LD181744 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1605 GMT 18 Oct 81

["Text" of PZPR Programmatic Resolution, read by Central Committee member Prof Marian Orzechowski at 18 October session of PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw -- recorded]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party approved the stand with regard to key issues of the political and socioeconomic situation of the country as well as the tasks of the ideological work of the party which are contained in the reports of the Central Committee Politburo and subsequently developed and supplemented during the discussion.

At the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress a program was drawn up to bring the country out of the crisis, opening new prospects for the socialist development of Poland. The program creates an opportunity for far-reaching reforms in the national economy and in the development of the socialist democracy of life, confirming the line of social accord on the basis of the constitutional principles of the system and international alliances. Despite the efforts made by state authorities, our country continues to find itself in an extremely difficult situation. The assessments contained in the Politburo statement of 16 September 1981 are current and remain topical. The economic state of the country is disastrous. As a result of a drastic shortage of power, raw materials and component parts, as well as tensions, pressures exerted upon economic management and the decline in discipline, industrial enterprises are not making full use of their production capabilities.

There has been a considerable disruption of production cooperation arrangements. There has been a serious decline in output and in national revenue. There has been further disorganization of the supplies to the market. The material basis of the nation's life is threatened. The credibility of Poland has declined in the eyes of the allies and economic partners.

Immediately after the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, opponents of socialism stepped up brutal attacks on the party and launched destructive action aimed at preventing the implementation of the party's program. Exploiting public discontent which originated against the background of the economic situation, they have begun to block anticrisis and reformatory measures adopted by state authorities. This is accompanied by the intensification of anti-Soviet propaganda which threatens the most vital interests of the state and the nation. Violent attacks against our party have brought about a situation in which the widespread activity of the masses of party members, which accompanied the preparations and conduct of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, was not fully utilized.

At the same time, the Central Committee states that the causes of the setbacks are also to be found in the lack of consistency of action and lack of decisiveness in the implementation of the decisions taken by the party and state authorities. The methods of pursuing the general political line, used so far by the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat have proved to be of little effect.

Appraising critically the progress so far achieved in the implementation of the resolutions of the ninth extraordinary congress, and drawing conclusions from the present sociopolitical situation, the Central Committee recognizes that the paramount task of the party is to bring the country out of the crisis. One of the most important conditions for the implementation of this task is the consolidation of the ranks of the party on the basis of the statute and program. The executive bodies of the party should lead in the political struggle which has been foisted upon the nation by the opponents of socialism. The PZPR Central Committee makes it incumbent upon executive bodies at all levels and all organizations of the party to withstand in a decisive manner all forms of activities by counterrevolutionary forces especially those directed against the defense potential of the country, our international alliances and the Polish People's Army. It is also necessary to counteract any initiatives to split the ex-combatants' movement. Consistent efforts must be made to expose the real image of antisocialist forces, their programs, their methods of action and links with the international centers of ideological struggle against socialism. All party organizations and executive bodies at all levels, as well as state authorities, should resist, in a determined manner, any manifestations of anti-Soviet propaganda. For this purpose it is necessary to implement to the full the decisions contained in the law on the control of publications and public spectacles. The PZPR Central Committee condemns strong-arm methods of exerting pressure and conducting witch hunts with regard to working people on account of their convictions.

At the same time, it makes it incumbent on the Central Committee Politburo, on all party echelons and organizations, and also on the relevant state bodies to extend effective protection with the available legal means to everyone against whom brutal attacks are organized by the opponents of socialism. In order to ensure public law and order and to counteract the creation of anarchy, organs of law and order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs will be taking resolute measures, firmly combating violations of law, the use of moral and political terrorism, the distribution of antiparty leaflets and other publications which are hostile to socialism. The protection of the peaceful life of citizens requires that universal, and at the same time active support be given by the community to the efforts of the Citizens' Militia, the security service, as well as to the various activities of other state bodies.

In the situation of the current threat to the existence and safety of the state, the Central Committee considers it essential for the highest authorities of the Polish People's Republic, in the case of supreme necessity, to resort to constitutional powers in order to protect the most vital interests of the state and of the nation.

Solidarity's leadership has unilaterally violated social agreements, usurping for itself the role of a superior force which dictates its will to the community, to the Sejm, to the government, to social organizations and institutions. In this way Solidarity's leadership has embarked upon a path which is contrary to the interests of the nation and of the state, and above all to the interests of the working class.

The PZPR Central Committee demands that Solidarity's leadership respect the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic and the binding legal order, dissociate itself from the activities of the enemies of socialism, immediately refrain from strike actions, adopt a constructive attitude to the government program for overcoming the economic crisis, coparticipate in its implementation including cooperation within the framework of the mixed commission of government representatives and of all trade unions, recognize in practical activity the alliances with other socialist countries, oppose anti-Soviet campaigns and respect the demands made for the safety of the state.

Proclaiming itself in favor of the line of dialogue, accord and cooperation, the Central Committee considers it essential and urgent to renegotiate the agreements concluded between the government and trade unions in order to resolve contentious issues constructively and to work out a positive platform for cooperation in matters which are of greatest significance for the country, in all issues which concern the real needs and interests of working people.

The PZPR Central Committee puts forward the idea of an accord between all patriotic forces which support the fundamental principles of the political system of the Polish People's Republic, of the international alliances of our country, and of solving all problems of the state and the community by peaceful means. The class basis for such an accord is the worker-peasant alliance which it is the duty of the whole party to strengthen and fill with living content.

The front of national accord and cooperation ought to be wide open to all those who are not against socialism, to all those who want to act vigorously to save the country.

The PZPR Central Committee considers it essential to accelerate and improve the effectiveness of the implementation of the government program for extricating the country out of the crisis and for stabilizing the economy. In the face of the approaching winter, the state and economic administrations ought to concentrate maximum effort, use every initiative and develop activities aimed at increasing the extraction of raw materials, especially coal, by means of maintaining the principle of higher payment for work on free Saturdays, and special privileges in the supply of food and other articles to miners. This must be accompanied by measures aimed at eliminating the boycotting or outright sabotage of the extraction of coal on free Saturdays; at standardizing and improving the functioning of the system of rationing goods on the basis of previously prepared detailed food balance sheets, fuel supplies for the population, supplies of coal, electricity and fuel to agriculture at the expense of reducing the number of official cars and even restricting gasoline for owners of private cars; at preparing by 15 November of this year a balance sheet of needs and how they are to be met, for coal; at informing the community about this; at substantially improving the functioning of rail transportation and municipal transportation mainly through improving the supply of spares, tires and accumulators; at improving supplies of medicines, equipment and items of personal hygiene for the socialized health service.

The PZPR Central Committee urges all workforces and worker collectives to recognize these undertakings as having first priority, to support them actively and to commit themselves to their implementation. Taking into consideration the fact that the winter might pose a danger to the existence of the community, the Central Committee urges all workforces, the entire working class, to work on free Saturdays whenever this is made possible by supplies of raw and other materials, or in exchange for antoher day off in the week if there are restrictions in the supply of electricity during the remaining days.

The Central Committee considers that in the country's present, dramatic economic situation, the government and the parliamentary PZPR should immediately adopt an initiative in the Sejm designed to suspend temporarily the right to strike.

The Central Committee urges all workforces to support this stance.

In order to restore the economic ties between town and country the government should prepare at once, present to the community and set in motion a summary program for the next few months to stimulate increased procurement in exchange for articles and goods, even at the expense of other sectors of economic life.

The government should also consistently implement the program for a substantial increase in production and in indispensible means for all sectors of agriculture, through stepping up outlays and transforming the existing structure of industry for the benefit of the food economy.

The Central Committee states that in line with the decision of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress the persons primarily responsible for getting the country into the crisis have suffered political consequences. At the same time, the Central Committee deems it imperative that the prosecutor general should complete, by 31 December this year, all investigations currently in progress, and work quickly on those that will be launched against presons guilty of abuses, who occupied leading posts in the past. Such action is in harmony with the principle that political and public responsibility should be applied to errors committed in the direction of political and economic life.

On the other hand, with regards to abuses of position for personal gain and other common offences there is penal responsibility irrespective of the position occupied.

The ideological confrontation calls for an unequivocal ideological self-determination on the part of party members. In the sphere of ideology the conceptions of a principled bearing and uncompromising stance assume particular importance today. They have become a fundamental and at the same time indispensible prerequisite of the ideological and political identify of the party. Whoever betrays its ideological precepts, expressing this publicly, speaks against the party and puts himself outside its ranks.

The Central Committee expects all party members, as envisaged by the statute, to represent its line actively in all circles. The Central Committee considers it imperative that party activists, leading personnel in state institutions, members of the party authorities at all levels who belong to Solidarity determine their oplitical stance unequivocably. The Central Committee acknowledges the declaration by a number of Central Committee members announcing their resignation from the NSZZ Solidarity.

The Central Committee considers it necessary for the party to undertake a broad ideological-political offensive. The information and propaganda media constitute an important weapon of the party in the struggle to imbue a socialist consciousness in the community. The ideological criteria of Marxism-Leninism must be absolutely obligatory in party work.

The Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee to undertake the necessary steps to strengthen the party leadership over the mass information and propaganda media. The party organization in the press, radio, television and publishing houses must do everything to guarantee the party's influence on the contents of the information and propaganda media.

It is also essential to develop the system of ideological work within the party, and in particular to stimulate scholarly research into the key problems of the present phase in the development of the Polish community and create close ties between the development of Marxist theory and political practice.

In connection with this, the Central Committee considers as justified the proposal to convene a national ideological conference, the implementation of the modified system of training work, the main function of which ought to be the dissemination of knowledge of the theory of Marxism-Leninism, as well as of the Marxist analysis of the contemporary sociopolitical and economic reality, the fundamental streamlining of the circulation of information within the party, the setting up to this end of an appropriate press information agency, and the assignment of the necessary groups in the structure of the party apparatus.

The entire system of ideological work of the party ought to serve the formation of capabilities to conduct a lively dialogue with the working people and the formation of the aktiv's abilities to defend the party's policy so as to gain for it the support of the community, and to serve the rebirth of capabilities for agitational actions.

The Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Politburo, the Secretariat and the Ideological Commission of the Central Committee to adopt detailed assumptions of the new system of the party's ideological work.

The Central Committee makes it incumbent on the Politburo and the Secretariat of the Central Committee to present, at the next plenary session, a report about the course of the implementation of the resolutions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress and about the carrying out of the present resolution.

[Signed] The PZPR Central Committee

Warsaw, 18 October 1981

Appeal for End to Strikes

LD181804 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1620 GMT 18 Oct 81

["Text" of "Appeal to the Working Masses of the Towns and Countryside" issued by the PZPR Central Committee on 18 October; read by PZPR Politburo member Jerzy Romanik -- live or recorded]

[Text] From the PZPR Central Committee to the working masses of the towns and the countryside:

In recent days the tide of strikes has risen again. From various parts of Poland forecasts of new strikes are forthcoming. The state of strike alert is being declared. The Central Committee is aware of the fact that, as a result of very difficult living conditions and the deteriorating state of supplies, the irritation of working people is on the increase. For many workers -- women and men -- the strike is the supreme form of protest in which they join with heavy hearts.

Your representatives, members of the Central Committee, have presented at their session in the supreme body of the party -- without beating around the bush -- the situation as it is for the notice of the working class. We understand and share the motives of your protest, and this is why our sense of responsibility for the fate of the national economy and the country, for arranging matters in our country in accordance with the principles of socialist renewal, impels us to appeal to you in a warm and cordial manner.

The disorganized Polish national economy may not withstand these new blows. The national economy is today on the brink of collapse. The consequences of this will hit the working class, above all. The blows dealt to industrial production affect all of us directly. Let us put an end to strikes.

Our sense of responsibility and our knowledge of facts impels us to state that behind the justified causes of the workers' wrath there are often hiding the enemies of your peace. They wish, at all costs, to prevent the country being brought out from the crisis, using false pretexts and often with the idea of taking a stand against the valid laws, intending to push us into even greater troubles. Their aim is to bring down the people's authority and for the sake of this they are ready to bring about a national disaster.

Esteemed comrades and citizens, working people, let us halt this vicious circle before it's too late. We go on strike because of the lack of goods in shops, and yet, by doing so, we are reducing even further the production capabilities of our industry and aggravating the causes of the crisis. No thinking person will saw through the branch on which he is sitting.

We appeal to you: Let us save the country from strikes -- they do not reflect your interests; this is the wrong path to follow. Our party and all the forces of national accord are on your side. Let them be, in a democratic fashion, the spokesmen of your demands and of your stand. It is impossible to distribute more than one possesses, and what is available should be shared out in accordance with the human sense of justice. It is only with the prudence and effort of the whole nation that the dramatic development of events in our country can be stopped.

Issued by the PZPR Central Committee assembled at the fourth plenum, Warsaw, 18 October, 1981.

Team To Prepare Centenary

LD182204 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- The fourth plenary meeting of the PUWP CC recalled in its resolution that "100 years will have passed in September, 1982, since the day when the first Polish revolutionary, Marxist workers' party was formed." The party, called "Proletariat", was led by [name indistinct]. The PUWP, reads the resolution, deems itself to be the heir to all of the past accomplishments of the Polish workers' movement. Nothing of that past can be forgotten or concealed.

The plenum resolved to appoint a 22-strong team charged with a duty to work out and submit to CC for approval guidelines for the centenary of the Polish working class movement, and work out a scientific, Marxist-Leninist synthesis of the 100 year-old history of the movement.

Committee for Planning

LD182204 Warsaw PAP in English 2023 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- In conformity with the resolution of the 9th PUWP Congress, the Central Committee at its fourth plenum appointed a committee charged with a [word indistinct] to work out a long-range programme of the party.

The programme, based on the Marxist-Leninist character of the PUWP, its class and ideological identity, should formulate the fundamental goals of building socialism in Poland. It should define long-range directions of socio-economic development and the development of the system of socialist democracy, define the basic tasks of the PUWP in realizing these goals and directions, and the mode of fulfilling by the party the leading role insociety.

The committee is composed of members and alternate members of the Political Bureau, secretaries of the CC, chosen members and alternate members of the CC, chosen PUWP Sejm deputies, PUWP activists from big enterprises, scientists and experts.

Kania's Resignation Accepted

LD181448 Warsaw PAP in English 1435 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- Stanislaw Kania resigned from the post of the PUWP CC first secretary during the organizational part of the debates. The resignation has been accepted.

Radio Reports Resignation

LD181524 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Excerpt] The third day of the PZPR Central Committee Plenum session is continuing. In the course of the organizational part of the session Stanislaw Kania offered his resignation from the function of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The resignation was accepted by the Central Committee.

AFP Report

NC181335 Paris AFP in English 1332 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (AFP) -- Polish Communist Party First Secretary Stanislaw Kania today handed in his resignation to the Fourth Plenum of the party's Central Committee, unofficial sources here said.

The sources said the Central Committee would be holding an election for a new first secretary.

Mr Kania's resignation followed discussion of the first three agenda items before the committee: the political situation in Poland, achievement of the resolutions adopted at the ninth special party congress and ideological issues.

The remaining point to be discussed concerned "organizational issues."

Mr Kania, 54, served as first secretary since September 6, 1980, when the Kremlin hailed him as a "courageous fighter".

Before his resignation today, the plenum unanimously adopted the text of a "call for moderation and a common effort" to "stop the dramatic course of events" in Poland.

According to PAP news agency, the appeal was directed to the "working masses of the cities and countryside". It was "dictated by a sense of responsibility to the country's destiny...in accordance with the principles of socialist renewal".

Contrary to the impression of total discord among delegates during the first two days of meeting, the plenum also unanimously adopted a "draft program" defining the "party's duties" in view of the "socio-economic situation".

It was not known what happened to a resolution proposed by a subcommittee yesterday authorizing the government to declare a "state of emergency" if necessary. Under the Polish Constitution a state of emergency can only be declared by parliament and under the heading "State of War".

The proposal was to be discussed with party regional committees before being submitted for a vote today.

Informed Polish sources did not rule out the possibility that the proposal had been rejected. They said that until the full texts of the draft resolution and the call to the "working masses" were disclosed, it would not be known whether the state of emergency proposal was included in another form.

Because of the impression of disagreement during the first two days of debate, however, observers said it was difficult to imagine that a text authorizing exceptional measures -- which does not fit in with a "call for modernization" -- would have been adopted unanimously.

Jaruzelski Elected

LD181616 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] During the organizational part of the debate at the PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum, Stanislaw Kania submitted his resignation from the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The Central Committee accepted the resignation.

The plenum then elected Wojciech Jaruzelski first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

AFP Report

NC181516 Paris AFP in English 1511 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (AFP) -- Prime Minister Wojciech Jaruzelski was today appointed first secretary of the Polish Workers' (Communist Party) following the resignation of Stanislaw Kania.

The election of Gen Jaruzelski, who is also Polish defence minister, at today's Fourth Plenum of the party's Central Committee was reported by unofficial sources.

Gen Jaruzelski, 58, who was already a member of the party's Political Bureau, was the only candidate for the post of first secretary, the sources said.

He was elected at a closed door meeting of the Central Committee, at which alternate members, regional party secretaries and regional military chiefs did not participate.

Gen Jaruzelski had turned down the job in September 1980 after the resignation of Edward Gierek. He has been prime minister since February this year.

Further Details

LD182200 Warsaw PAP in English 2114 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- After three days of debates, the 4th plenary meeting of the PUWP Central Committee drew to an end here this evening.

The discussion continued today on the documents of the plenum. After alterations and amendments were introduced, the CC unanimously passed the resolution and issued an appeal to the working people of the cities and the countryside.

The Central Committee went on to discuss organizational matters. Stanislaw Kania requested that the plenum accept his resignation from the post of CC first secretary. In a secret ballot, his resignation was accepted by 104 votes, with 79 against.

Authorized by the Political Bureau, CC Secretary Kazimierz Barcikowski, who presided over this part of the session, recommended member of the Political Bureau Premier Wojciech Jaruzelski for the post of PUWP CC first secretary. I wish to remind you that Wojciech Jaruzelski is a soldier; he has taken part in struggles; all of his life symbolizes our country's independence; he is known to people and enjoys our party's appreciation, Barcikowski said.

He is known both among our friends and worldwide, which will undoubtedly make it easier for him to perform this extremely responsible and difficult function. Considering all that, the Political Bureau unanimously suggests Wojciech Jaruzelski as the only candidate to the post of the PUWP CC first secretary.

The Central Committee conducted the vote by secret ballot. Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected PUWP CC first secretary by 180 votes, with 4 against.

The debates concluded with a speech by the newly elected first secretary.

Speech, Closing of Plenum

LD181828 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] As we have already reported, Stanislaw Kania handed in his resignation as first secretary of the PZPR during today's session of the Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum. The resignation was accepted. The plenum then elected Wojciech Jaruzelski first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee by 180 votes out of the 184 cast.

At the end of the session, Wojciech Jaruzelski took the floor. He said he feels that the party has assigned him to a new sphere of work. He stated that fulfilling the expectations for a change in and improvement of the situation, for overcoming the crisis and for strengthening the socialist state is the most important task at present. The first secretary of the Central Committee emphasized the inestimable importance of Poland's alliance with the Soviet Union and with the entire socialist community. He cordially thanked Stanislaw Kania for his great efforts in holding a difficult post.

The Fourth PZPR Central Committee Plenum ended at 1830 with the singing of the Internationale.

Jaruzelski Closing Speech

LD190808 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0622 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] In accordance with our earlier announcement, we are broadcasting the text of the speech by the newly elected first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, made at the end of the Fourth Central Committee Plenum:

[Announcer] It is customary in situations such as this to express words of gratitude for the trust shown in one, began Wojciech Jaruzelski. Forgive me if I do not use this expression. The enormously huge burden and the great responsibility which I am taking upon myself according to your will requires not pathos, but a calm, businesslike assessment. Above all, I feel that I have been delegated by the party to tackle a new task, an extraordinarily difficult job. I am, at the same time, aware that there exists at this moment a particular expectation that the situation will change, that it will improve, that the party will adopt an offensive position, that the socialist state will get stronger. Progress along this path -- and, moreover, attainment of this goal -- is and must be our common task which, to the best of my ability [sil i mozliwosci] I wish to implement, conscientiously and actively, together with you, comrades.

I sincerely ask you, the Central Committee, I ask party members, my comrades-in-arms the soldiers of the Polish People's Army, and all patriots of socialist Poland to give me help of this kind.

We know well, continued Wojciech Jaruzelski, just how extraordinarily complex are the tasks we face. We have been made even better aware of this by our discussion, its substantive achievements [jej dorobek merytoryczny], the high ideological temperature of the plenum and, above all, by the resolution we passed here today.

This resolution contains a grand and valuable inspiration for the party. We must make full use of it. We must translate it today and tomorrow into the language of political, social and economic activity. The highest effort, energy and consistency in implementing this resolution is currently the most important issue. We should systematically and consistently assess and account for the results obtained in the process of implementing the resolution, because it continues along the path mapped out by the ninth congress. That is the general line to which we are and will remain faithful. However, the implementation of this line is taking place under increasingly difficult conditions, in an acute political struggle waged by opponents of socialism. This is a struggle which they transfer onto various areas, including the economic area, paralyzing our efforts and creating continuing dangerous tensions, said the first secretary of the party's Central Committee.

The unanimous adoption of the resolution makes it unnecessary for me to enlarge on the assessments that have been made during the plenum. We have never sought -- and, moreover -- we have always avoided confrontation. Nor are we striving for it today. One thing, however, is certain; possibilities for retreat have already been exhausted. The resolution defined this border. It also provided for the forms of essential responsibility. The party must get a grip on itself. It must remove internal barriers, it must come to believe in its power, in the correctness of its program, the program of the ninth congress. This is a party program, but, after all, it is not just for the party to use for itself. It points the way which should lead to overcoming the crisis, yield all-round benefits for the entire nation, strengthen our state and deepen and expand its democratic contents, the contents of the socialist renewal.

The first stage along this path must be to overcome the crisis, remove tensions and this specific blockade inspired and implemented in various areas of our socioeconomic life by forces hostile to socialism, to be found, in particular, in many leading Solidarity bodies.

When the country is endangered by the prospect of complete ruination, the abandonment of and resolute opposition to such a method of struggling with the authorities ought to constitute the elementary yardstick of civic responsibility. After all, objectively speaking, as far as its social consequences are concerned, this struggle is aimed against all who bear every painful burden of this situation: society.

We wish to believe, continued Wojciech Jaruzelski, that the working talks on economic matters, initiated with representatives of Solidarity's National Commission, will yield the expected benefits. We wish for the terms of reference of these talks to be extended to embrace all forces serving socialist Poland. In particular, we hope that all our country's trade unions will take an active and joint part in them.

It is high time for us to push away in the proverbial wheelbarrows, not people, but the phenomena that are disrupting socioeconomic life, antisocialist unruliness, the dictatorship of the demagogues, violations of the law and negative attitudes to positive action. That is in the interests of our entire nation, of all working people, including the numerous masses of members of Solidarity, who, desiring the good of People's Poland, cannot be indifferent to manipulations that are harmful to the socialist state. A patriotic public, all the forces that stand on the basis of socialism and the Constitution, party members and nonparty people, believers and nonbelievers, continue to receive our offer of accord, of joint efforts for the good of Poland, and today, one must say, for its salvation.

In our difficult situation we feel particularly the great importance of Poland's continuing to remain in the alliance of the socialist states, in friendship with the Soviet Union. We will defend this achievement -- historically shaped thanks to the party -- which is of inestimable value to the nation and we will strengthen it. In these dramatic times for Poland we have felt and we continually feel the great allied and above all Soviet aid, economic aid.

We count on their continuing to grant it to us, commensurate with the extraordinary situation in which our country finds itself. We also count on the understanding of all our economic partners, with which Poland will continue actively to develop relations in the interests of both sides.

We continue to transmit the contents of Wojciech Jaruzelski's speech at the PZPR Central Committee Fourth Plenum.

Today I could try to present proposals for possible changes in the composition of the Politburo and the Secretariat with a view to improving their work and increasing their effectiveness. After considering this subject at the Politburo session, however, we reached the conclusion that any changes proposed straight away today could be not fully matured. They would be of an emergency and fragmentary nature, Wojciech Jaruzelski continued. We believe that the matter must be approached in a comprehensive manner, viewing it not only in the structure [Uklad] of the leadership of the party but also in the structure [Uklad] of the Council of Ministers. It must take into account our already announced intentions of having appropriate participation by the allied parties, of the ZSL and the SK, as well as nonaffiliated persons, including representatives of Catholics and lay persons who stand on a socialist basis, in the governing system.

Thus I propose that a further, a fifth plenary session of our party's Central Committee be called. Let us also submit appropriate propositions for the decision of the Sejm.

Comrades, Wojcieh Jaruzelski continued, a change has been made in the position of first secretary of our party's Central Committee. Comrade Kania who for over a year -- and how difficult a year -- has been performing this function, today submitted his resignation, which was accepted by the Central Committee. Comrades, I speak of this in a manner that is not only official but also -- and please understand me -- very personal. This is because Comrade Stanislaw Kania is my close, warm friend and has been for many years, but perhaps primarily because our road was a single and joint one, along which I think there were things that were correct and good, but along which there were also stumblings and weaknesses. I feel jointly responsible for them to the same extent. Continuing on the same general path, we must do everything to make it more and more effective, but -- I want to stress this in particular at this moment -- a change in the function of the first secretary is being carried out in a politically cultured atmosphere with all the norms of democracy being observed, rather than in a dramatic fashion as happened in the past.

Comrades: I wish to and am convinced that, said the first secretary of the party Central Committee, I express your opinion in heartily thanking Comrate Kania for his great effort in this difficult post, for his leading participation in forming the policy of our party and in directing it in a particularly difficult period, in organizing and successfully conducting the ninth congress. I would also like to thank him for the relations of party frankness, a frankness that permitted us to say everything and talk about everything within the framework of the work of the Politburo, though we were not able to implement everything completely. I am convinced that Comrade Kania will remain with us in a single line of active work and service of the party and Poland.

In conclusion, Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee, stated: Times are such that now we should all go as soon as possible to our jobs, so that without unnecessary sensationalism, proving all speculations wrong, we can confirm that our party proceeds and will firmly continue to proceed along the path chosen at the ninth congress; that it will even more consistently and with a greater resolve remove from this path all that harms Poland and harms our nation.

In this hard situation and difficult work we must show concern for the party's unity, strength and offensiveness, for its Marxist-Leninst ideological principles. We must retain as much belief and conviction as possible in the correctness of our socialist cause, in its indestructibility.

It is this, dear comrades, that I wish you cordially, said Wojciech Jaruzelski, first secretary of the party Central Committee, at the end of the Central Committee's Fourth Plenum.

Jaruzelski Biography

LD181724 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski was born on 6 July 1923 in Kurow, Lublin Voivodship. After the outbreak of World War II he spent some time in the Soviet Union where he was employed as a worker.

In 1943 he joined the Polish Army formed on Soviet territory, where he passed out of the officers infantry school in Ryazan. Later, he was appointed platoon commander. Then, as reconnaissance platoon commander and later chief of regimental reconnaissance, he followed the battle route of the Polish Forces' First Army.

He took part in battles at Pulawy, the Magnuszew bridgehead, at Praga, and at Jablonna. He participated in the liberation of Warsaw, the breakthrough at the Pomorze Wall, in the fighting at the Baltic, Odra and Elbe. During the years 1945-47 Wojciech Jaruzelski took part in battles against the armed underground. In the Army he occupied a number of top command and staff posts, as well as party political posts.

He was a lecturer in tactics and staff service, head of the directorate of Military Academies, Schools and Officer Training Courses, and deputy chief of the Main Directorate for Combat Training, as well as commanding officer of the 12th Mechanized Division named after the People's Army. From June 1960 until February 1965 he held the post of chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Army. From 1962 until April 1968 he was vice minister of national defense.

In 1965 he was promoted to the rank of general. In the same year he took up the post of chief of General Staff of the Polish Army.

In April 1968 he was given the portfolio of the minister of national defense. In October 1973 he was promoted to the rank of army general.

Since 12 February this year he has been chairman of the Council of Ministers. Since January 1961 Wojciech Jaruzelski has been a Sejm deputy and since May 1972 vice president of the Supreme Council of the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy.

During the years 1947-48 he was a member of the Polish Workers Party and later, after the merger congress, a member of the PZPR. In April 1964 he was elected member of the Central Committee of the PZPR; in December 1970 alternate member of the Central Committee Politburo; and in December 1971, member of the Politburo.

He is the holder of the Order of Builders of People's Poland, Order of the Banner of Labor, first class, and others. He possesses numerous Polish and foreign military decorations.

TU, CHURCH REACTION TO KANIA-JARUZELSKI CHANGE

Walesa Silent 18 Oct

LD181730 Paris Domestic Service in French 1700 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Lech Walesa, the leader of the independent trade union movement Solidarity, is today in Lens, northern France.

He was informed of Kania's resignation and replacement by General Jaruzelski immediately after it became known, but so far has refused to make any statement on the change. However, the members of his entourage have been having long telephone conversations with leading Solidarity figures in Poland about the impact of this development.

Walesa Unconcerned

LD190936 Paris Domestic Service in French 0900 GMT 19 Oct 81

[Text] After the reshuffle in Poland here is a reaction from Lech Walesa: He believes that replacing Mr Kania with General Jaruzelski should not be a cause for concern. Lech Walesa, who is currently on a visit to northern France, has said that he personally gets along very well with Jaruzelski.

Geremek: 'A Good Sign'

NC181807 Paris AFP in English 1756 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Vaudricourt, northern France, 18 Oct (AFP) -- A top aide to Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa said here that the resignation in Warsaw today of First Communist Party Secretary Stanislaw Kania probably did not indicate a tougher government stance on the independent trade federation.

Bronislaw Geremek, visiting the Franco-Polish community in northern France with Mr Walesa, said that on the contrary, the fact that Mr Kania had resigned following the refusal of the Central Committee to vote a state of emergency at his request was a good sign for Solidarity.

Mr Walesa interrputed his visit here to find out more about the resignation of Mr Kania, making long telephone calls to top Solidarity officials in Gdansk soon after being feted at a luncheon given by Polonia, an organisation of Polish immigrants concentrated in northern France.

At a convivial luncheon earlier in the day, Polonia members agreed that Mr Walesa was a typical Pole -- deeply serious but seasoned with irony.

The trade union leader told his hosts that his current meetings with French trade unionists were the first step towards closer Franco-Polish relations, that needed to be followed by factory-floor and inter-government exchanges.

He said Polish society was based on three forces -- the trade unions, the church and the government -- all of which had to preserve their own identity.

But he warned that the church had to keep out of power struggles if it was to maintain its role of supreme refuge and arbiter.

Mr Walesa, his legendary pipe firmly in hand, called for two new institutions in Poland -- independent courts and a body of "wise" counsellers to control the worker self-management process sought by Solidarity.

He stressed that Solidarity was a moderate organisation. Professor Geremek added that the union posed no threat to the Soviet Union.

After the luncheon Mr Walesa was due to attend a church mass, then address a rally at the Bollaert Stadium in Lens.

The Polish community in northern France is substantial, although its size is not easy to count because of inter-marriages over several generations. But Poles in the Pas-de-Calais region are served by a Polish-language newspaper with a circulation of nearly 20,000.

No Hardening of Line Expected

LD182030 Paris Domestic Service in French 1800 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Lech Walesa is continuing his visit to France at the invitation of various French trade union organizations. Today he has been in the Nord and Pas-de-Calais departments among his Polish compatriots along with 3,000 of whom he attended a mass held in a tent next to the Lena Sports Stadium. Lech Walesa is due to deliver a speech tonight, but his spokesman, Mr Geremek, had the following reaction to the removal of Kania and the appointment of Jaruzelski:

[Begin Geremek recording] General Jaruzelski has been the head of government for several months. His advent to power gave quite a lot of hope to the people of Poland as it was expected that the government would take more effective measures. I would be very surprised if there is any hardening of line. Any hardening of the internal political line could have dramatic consequences, and it is my belief that everybody is conscious of this. We must strive for a national consensus. It is also significant that the PZPR Central Committee unanimously passed a motion calling on the people to work together for the good of Poland. [end recording]

Glemp Has No Comment

NC182032 Paris AFP in English 2019 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Vatican City, 18 Oct (AFP) -- Archbishop Jozef Glemp, the Roman Catholic Primate of Poland, refused to comment on the change today in the leadership of the Polish Communist Party as he left a meeting with Pope John Paul II.

The news was announced to Archbishop Glemp and the pope, also a Pole, as the two were meeting in the pope's office here after dining together.

"I cannot comment," Archbishop Glemp told journalists inquiring about the resignation of First Secretary Stanislaw Kania and subsequent election of Prime Minister General Wojciech Jaruzelski during a party plenum in Warsaw.

"God protect Mr Jaruzelski. We hope that the cooperation with the church can continue," he said.

The primate denied rumors that he and the pope had today telephoned Lech Walesa, head of the independent trade confederation Solidarity, who is currently on a visit to France.

Archbishop Glemp leaves for Warsaw on Wednesday. He said his next visit to Rome will be in early November.

MEDIA RESPONSE TO KANIA-JARUZELSKI CHANGE

LD171920 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Jerzy (Bockowski) Moscow dispatch]

[Text] Local papers carry today only dispatches about the beginning of the session of the Central Committee plenum and give the subjects with which the session deals. This news has been printed without comment. Radio has informed about the fact that the agenda of the plenum has been broadened, about the assessments of the Politburo's activity and about possible personnel changes.

A TASS dispatch from Warsaw which is being broadcast in news bulletins also lists the names of 11 members of the PZPR authorities which have left Solidarity. It also informs about the expulsion from the party of Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists.

Other Press Reaction

LD181512 Warsaw PAP in English 1436 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- Mass media in socialist countries and in the West stress that the 4th PUWP CC plenary meeting debating here very sharply criticized the rightwing current in Solidarity and also resumed an appeal to all patriotic social forces in Poland for cooperation for the benefit of this country based on partnership.

In a report headlined "Challenge to Solidarity," Washington POST wrote that in a report delivered by Stanislaw Kania the PUWP CC charged the Solidarity extremists with using the economic crisis for the attacks on socialism and the attempts to take over power.

News agencies report on Stanislaw Kania's porposal to temporarily suspend the right to strike and to give up free Saturdays in the coal mining industry and other branches of the industry extracting raw materials during the winter period.

In a dispatch on the plenum broadcast on October 17, TASS said about reports delivered during the debates and pointed to the fact that 11 members and alternate members of the PUWP CC quit Solidarity.

The Hungarian press brings prominence to Stanislaw Kania's assessment of the Solidarity congress, stressing that this organization became a refuge for right-wing and counter-revolutionary organizations. It also quoted the PUWP CC first secretary as saying that "Solidarity could be a constructive force if it came out for the socialist renewal in the spirit of the August 1980 agreements."

The Hungarian daily NEPSZABADSAG headlined its report on the plenum: "There Is A Need for a Party of Action." The daily quoted Stefan Olszowski as saying that "The PUWP will be able to stop actions of the foes of socialism only when its members act vigorously and consistently in all spheres of political life and when the party maintains and cultivates its close contacts with the working class from which counterrevolutionary forces want to cut it off.

SOLIDARITY, GOVERNMENT HOLD TALKS ON ECONOMY

Economy Council Proposal

LD162316 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Talks are being held at the Ministry of Finance in Warsaw between the working group of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the negotiating group of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, chaired by the minister of finance, Marian Krzak, and member of the NSZZ Solidarity National Commission Presidium, Grzegorz Palka.

The proposal for setting up a social council of national economy, submitted by the National Commission Presidium of NSZZ Solidarity to the working group of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs reads as follows:

Justification for the need to set up such a council is as follows: The entire effectiveness of action with regard to bringing about a balanced situation on the market, as well as the problem of prices, is dependent on the credibility with regard to the nation and the institutions which represent these matters.

Current activities aimed at solving the important problems of food supplies and supplies of fuel -- particularly important in view of the forthcoming winter -- and the effectiveness of these activities, depend on the credibility of the institutions which will appeal for extraordinary feats or limitations. We are of the opinion that without creating a public body independent of the government, it will be impossible for the government to overcome these problems. However, Solidarity will not be able to support government activities because so far we have made a negative assessment of the way the economic reform has been introduced so far, and we have no guarantee that the limitations imposed on consumption by means of increased prices will give results. If we were to support the activities of the government we would, in effect, betray the interests of the nation; it would be tantamount to sinking the nation in poverty without there being any chance of climbing from this impoverishment. Therefore, as a problem of the first order, we today raise the question of setting up a social council of national economy. It should be independent of the government and must be set up by the trade unions independent of the authorities, which will themselves decide the principles upon which this council is set up. We envisage, in principle, a proportional composition of this council. Representatives of the self-management movement also may be invited to participate in the council. As to the powers of the council and its objectives, the powers should be such that the council should be capable of taking part in shaping economic policy and effectively influencing the economic reform. In other words, the powers of the council would include control over government activities and the lower levels of economic administration in such a way that the council would have the right to demand information and explanations, and also have access to economic information which is available to government or economic units. In other words, economic units or the ministries must give extensive information and permit access to documents. One important right of this council would be the right to veto with regard to erroneous decisions by the government, if, in the course of consultations, it has not been possible to reach accord on some decisions. It is also necessary to envisage a mechanism with the help of which the nation, in the event of contradiction that could not be eliminated, would decide which variant in economic policy or in the economic reform should be implemented.

The council must have access to radio and telvision in order to explain unpopular decisions, and also to present its own opinion and assessment of the national economy. It would also be necessary to recognize legislative initiative so that the Sejm can choose from several draft bills, and not only those submitted by the government. This can be applied also in the case of other bills, with the reservation that consent be obtained for such information being forwarded to the Sejm from the council. Here there are other possibilities. A most important point lies in the decision that the council can be dissolved when the nation finds that the role of the council has come to an end. What is at stake is that the council should not be dissolved at a moment when it becomes inconvenient for the government. This is the outline of our proposal.

Further on 16 Oct Talks

LD170340 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0200 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] The second round of talks between the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs, under the chairmanship of Finance Minister Marian Krzak, and the negotiating group of NSZZ Solidarity's National Commission continued until late at night. Grzegorz Palka headed the negotiating group.

A number of important issues connected with problems of market supplies in general and food supplies in particular were discussed. Ways and means of preventing breakdowns in economic links between urban centers and the countryside were also discussed.

The government side outlined the current situation with regard to purchases and prospects for the immediate future. The issue of reaching a compromise agreement on the question of material and other incentives essential for increased coal extraction was also broached during the talks.

Problems connected with transferring resources to those branches of the economy upon which supplies of machines, equipment, fertilizers and fodder to agriculture depend were also examined. Problems connected with social control over economic activities were debated as well.

It has been agreed that the two sides will set up a joint working group to examine the proposal of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs regarding the establishment of a mixed government and trade union commission and the proposal submitted by the Solidarity National Commission's negotiating group regarding the matter of a social council for the national economy.

The POLISH PRESS AGENCY has published the statements pertaining to the social council for the national economy. The proposal to set up the council was presented on behalf of Solidarity's National Commission to the working team of the Council of Ministers Committee for Trade Union Affairs as well as the statement of the committee in this matter. [as heard]

Today's press will carry the full text of both statements.

Government Statement Protested

LD171948 Warsaw Domestic Television Service in Polish 1530 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] PAP reports that the talks between the working group of Council of Ministers Commission for Trade Union Affairs and the negotiating group of the Solidarity National Commission [KK] have been resumed. The meeting is chaired by Finance Minister Marian Krzak and KK Presidium member Grzegorz Palka. At the outset of today's talks the negotiating group has lodged a protest which reads as follows:

In connection with the publication by the mass media of the statement made by the Council of Ministers Commission for Trade Union Affairs, which distorts the essence of the initiative of NSZZ Solidarity for the setting up of a social national economy council, the negotiation group of the KK Presidium lodges a determined protest with the government representatives.

The protest refers to the content of the statement, to the unfounded accusations and insinuations it contains, and to the fact that the statement was published while the talks were in progress, during which it has been agreed to set up a joint working group for a discussion on the Solidarity proposal with the government.

As for the talks, today they concern mainly problems related to export. The government side has presented a report on the state of food export. Reference was also made to the profitability of trade, in particular with the socialist countries. The debate dwelt for quite some time on the blockade of the export of small quantities of food, a blockade applied by some Solidarity branches at ports.

The negotiating group has drawn attention to the need for the building up credibility for government undertakings as to export policy.

Finance Minister's Statement

LD172210 Warsaw PAP in English 2123 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 17 Oct (PAP) -- Today's talks between the Polish Government and the Solidarity trade union opened with firm protest from the Solidarity negotiating team against the government trade union committee's statement on the union's proposal to set up a social council on national economy. Solidarity's representatives demanded also that the protest be published in the mass media, and an appropriate declaration by the government's press spokesman be issued on the matter.

Solidarity is protesting both against the contents of the government's statement and what it describes as the unfounded allegations and insinuations therein contained, as well as against the fact of publishing the statement while the negotiations were still taking place, during which it was agreed to establish a joint working group to disucss the proposals of Solidarity and the government. Solidarity warned that not implementing its demands would "testify to the intentions of the government and would have a decisive impact on further negotiations."

The talks, chaired by the finance minister, Marian Krzak, and a member of Solidarity's National Commission Presidium, Grzegorz Palka, later concentrated on Polish exports, with the government side giving information on the present state of Polish food exports. The problems of the profitability of trade, especially with socialist countries, were also discussed. Much time was devoted to the blocking of exports of some small quantities of food by some chapters of Solidarity, amongst others in Polish ports. Solidarity representatives also pointed to the need of building government's credibility with respect to export policy.

During the break in the session, Minister Marian Krzak told the Polish news agency, among other things, that the standpoint published by the government trade unions committee on the proposal to set up a social council on national economy provides an extensive substantiation why the proposal cannot be accepted by the government side. "The sharp words used in the (Solidarity) protest substitute for the matter-of-fact arguments. This fails to advance the dialogue."

The minister reiterated that the Solidarity concept cannot be the basis for the work of the working group. On the other hand, "this basis can be provided by the government concept to set up a mixed commission of the government and the trade unions, as well as by a different proposal for a social council on the national economy."

Talks End; Protocol Signed

LD181144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] We heard just a moment ago that the talks which have been going on since Thursday between the working group of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the negotiating group of the Solidarity National Commission have ended with the signing of a protocol of resolutions. Agreement was reached on the question of freezing retail prices until they are changed or until a system of compensation has been agreed on, the principles for the consultation on the changes of these prices, a further course of procedure in order to coordinate the organizational forms of social control in the area of economic activity, and a course of action aimed at the elaboration of an incentive system in mining. The principles of the resolutions also relate to the present food situation, including that in the voivodships of Skierniewice and Piotrkow Trybunalski, long-term anticrisis actions and questions of economic reform, and also questions of the export of food and of the halting of the selective blockade of food exports in the ports.

Government-TU Resolutions

LD181448 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1330 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Early this morning, the final phase of the talks between the working group of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs and the negotiating group of the National Commission of NSZZ Solidarity, which had been going onsince 15 October, came to an end.

The following resolutions were adopted: Retail prices will be frozen until the government and the Solidarity union agree on a program and date for price changes and a system of compensation connected with the economic reform, for a period of between 4 and 6 weeks; free market and seasonal prices will not be subject to the freeze, nor will the prices of goods and services in small-scale production; their growth will be taken into account retrospectively within the framework of compensation for the rise in the cost of living; the government also proposes to exclude the prices of alcohol, gasoline and luxury goods.

The working team of the Council of Ministers' Committee for Trade Union Affairs presented a draft of changes in retail prices of food, fuel and energy for consultation, and a system of comprensation so that it will be consulted and commented upon by the union within 4 to 6 weeks. Before the union stance is adopted, an exchange of opinions on the subject of the draft is to take place between the State Price Commission and the union. The government side is proposing that the exchange of opinions take place within 2 weeks.

Full Meat Supplies Not Possible

LD181538 Warsaw PAP in English 1441 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (PAP) -- After more than three days of negotiations between a government committee and a delegation of the Solidarnosc union it was decided to freeze retail prices pending the reaching of a government-Solidarnosc agreement of the scope and schedule of price changes and compensation, which should take between four and six weeks.

This does not apply to seasonal and free-market prices of goods and services but the growth of prices here will likewise be compensated for. The government also wants to exempt alcohol, petrol and luxury goods from the freeze but the union has objected and is going to re-examine the proposal.

On the controversial issue of the social council for national economy, proposed by Solidarnosc and promptly rejected as unacceptable by the government side, a document signed at the end of the talks today said the sides would appoint a joint working group to discuss this idea as well as the government plan for setting up a mixed commission that would bring together representatives of the government and the unions operating in Poland and work out a common policy on vital questions of Polish life and on urgent steps to be taken to improve the market situation.

The sides also agreed that the government's Anti-Crisis Staff will discuss with representatives of Solidarnosc authorities the system of wages and incentives in the coal mining industry so as to ensure increased extraction of the vitally important fuel.

With the growth of purchase of slaughter animals in mind, the government will consider a Solidarnosc proposed system of tying the sale of industrial merchandise to farmers to deliveries of animals to state purchasing outlets.

The government side informed the union that because of the law purchases of animals it is not able to immediately ensure full supplies of rationed meat to the areas in central Poland (Zyrardow and Skierniewice Voivodships, and elsewhere) which have been affected by widespread strikes over food shortages for the last week or so. However, efforts will be made to increase the supplies of other food to the regions.

The government will supply the union with detailed information concerning the export and import of food and the union will lift the selective boycott of food exports in the sea ports.

GOVERNMENT DIFFICULTIES WITH VOIVODSHIP TU'S

Talks First Broken Off

LD161146 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Talks between Solidarity and political and administrative authorities in the Piotrkow and Sieradz Voivodships have been broken off. Sierzdz Solidarity demands the arrival of a government commission by 22 October. Protest action will be declared if market supplies are not improved by 2 November.

Trade unionists of Piotrkow Voivodship, who are conducting talks with the authorities in Tomaszow Mazowiecki, stated that Zygmunt Lakomiec, minister of domestic trade and services, and his adviser Jerzy Indyk do not have proper authorization. Talks are to resume tomorrow.

Disquiet is also continuing in Skierniewice Voivodship. The protest strike in Zyrardow industrial enterprises has been joined by the workforce of the Poldres clothing factory in Mszczonow.

Piotrkow Talks Resume

LD171914 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Talks involving the NSZZ Solidarity, the Industrial Branch Trade Union of Piotrkow Voivodship and the government commission headed by Zygmunt Lakomiec, minister of domestic trade and services, were resumed today in Tomaszow Mazowiecki. The talks deal with the supplies of food and basic commodities in Piotrkow Voivodship. The trade union members did not accept the minister's statement that supplies of meat and meat products will depend on procurement in the country and that outstanding coupons will be made redeemable by the end of January next year.

The negotiating group upheld its stance of 15 October which called, among other things, for current coupons to be fully redeemable for goods and for dealys in the redeemability of outstanding coupons to be made up for by the end of November this year. If these conditions are not accepted, a general strike will be declared in the voivodship on the 20 October.

Some Agreement Reached

LD180144 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0100 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Talks between the negotiating group of NSZZ Solidarity, the Industrial Branch Trade Union of Piotrkow Voivodship and the government commission headed by Zygmunt Lakomiec, minister of domestic trade and services, were continued yesterday in Tomaszow Mazowiecki. The talks deal with the issue of supplying Piotrkow Voivodship with food and essential articles.

After a discussion which lasted 5 hours, agreements concerning supplies of meat and its products were written down. It was agreed that current coupons will be fully covered according to envisaged assortments, whereas outstanding coupons will be implemented by 23 December of this year at the latest. Principles for checking the implementation of supplies have also been agreed upon. It has been decided that as of 1 November all ration coupons will be strictly accounted for in Piotrkow Voivodship.

The talks will be resumed this afternoon.

DECREE SEEKS SELF-MANAGEMENT OF SUPPLY SITUATION

AU171821 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] A decree of the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania has been published today regarding certain measures on strengthening self-management and regional self-supplies and on ensuring supplies such as bread, flour and cornmeal under favorable conditions for the people. The decree states: The goal of constantly improving the living standard of all our people, established by the 12th RCP Congress, requires the complete implementation of the programs on developing agricultural production in all state and cooperative units and a better utilization of resources in people's households. Our country's grain production ensures supplies of bread, flour and farinaceous products for all people and that the raw materials for industry and other needs of the national economy are met.

The supply of bread, flour and cornmeal for people in towns and villages must be ensured by firmly applying the principles of self-management and regional self-supplies through the use of one's own resources from the production of agricultural cooperation, the people's own households and from state stocks.

In conformity with legal provisions regarding the development of vegetable and animal production and making use of the entire landstock, all residents of communes and villages and those who live in towns and work in agriculture or own agricultural lands are obligated to completely and efficiently utilize their lands and to assure agricultural production and foodstuffs so as to meet their own consumption needs and to increase their contribution to the people's general supplies.

To ensure proper supplies of bread, flour, cornmeal and other products for all categories of working people under favorable conditions and to secure a rational consumption, avoid waste, damage and loss of any kind and speculation with those products, the State Council of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees:

Article 1. The people's councils are obligated to ensure, in conformity with the law, the uniform leadership of agriculture in the territorial-administration units in which they carry out their activity on the basis of the principles of self-management and economic-financial administration with a view to constantly increasing agricultural production and completely meeting -- from the production in each country -- the people's consumption needs and to ensuring the necessary resources for providing the state stock.

Article 2. The people's councils are responsible for the complete and efficient use of lands, the cultivation of all plots of land within the state, the cooperative sector and the people's private households, for the rational utilization of the labor force active in agriculture to constantly increase grain production and other vegetable and animal products, to raise the contribution made by agriculture to developing the national economy and to improving the people's living standard.

Article 3. Socialist agricultural units and all residents of rural and urban areas who own agricultural lands are obligated to cultivate them and harvest agricultural products, they are obligated to raise animals and poultry for their own needs and for creating the necessary resources for providing the state stock.

During peak agricultural work during the tending of crops and timely harvesting of crops without any losses, all residents of agroindustrial villages, communes and villages, irrespective of the unit in which they are active, are obligated to effectively participate in agricultural work in state and cooperative units.

Article 4. The municipal and city people's councils shall take measures to develop agricultural production in suburban villages and communes so that they will become the bases for supplying the cities with grains, vegetables, fruits, animals, poultry, milk, eggs and other vegetable, animal and agricultural products and foodstuffs.

Article 5. The people's supplies of bread, flour and cornmeal will be ensured on the basis of the principles of regional self-management and self-administration according to the localities in which citizens live or work, so that in each commune and town supplies will be ensured for all people under the conditions stipulated by the present decree.

All agricultural units and all grain producers must draw up programs for increasing grain production so that they will completely fulfill their obligations to the state stock and ensure the necessary grains for their consumption needs and for all citizens they supply and for animal fodder.

Article 6. To ensure the proper supply of all people with bread, flour and cornmeal, the sale of these products will take place according to locality as follows:

Those people who live in municipalities and towns and the working personnel in nonagricultural branches and who live in different localities will be supplied by the municipalities and towns in which they live or work. The working personnel in industrial units, in mines, oil derricks, on construction sites, forestry exploitation units and other such units located in communes, villages or in remote places shall be supplied in the localities or places where they carry out their activities.

The working personnel and the people in rural areas shall be supplied by the localities in which they reside.

Article 7. Considering the average per capita consumption and the requirements for rational food supplies for the people, the uniform national plan of socioeconomic development shall annually establish the average bread, flour, farinaceous products and cornmeal consumption in terms of a corresponding amount of wheat and corn. Measures will be taken annually to increase animal production so that along with ensuring increased quantities of meat and animal products, grain consumption will be reduced in keeping with the requirements of a rational supply system and the scientifically substantiated tendencies in food consumption at the international level.

Article 8. Proceeding from the average per capita consumption up to now, the people in municipalities, town and the working personnel residing in other localities who obtain their supplies in the localities where they work, will be ensured -- in the 1981-82 agricultural year -- an average of bread, flour, farinaceous products and cornmeal per person equaling up to 150 kilograms of wheat and up to 30 kilograms of corn. The family members of people working in units located in other localities shall be supplied in the locality in which they reside within the limit of quantities envisaged for the respective locality.

Article 9. The members of agricultural production cooperatives, agricultural specialists, mechanizers and other persons working in the agricultural production cooperatives shall be supplied with bread, flour and cornmeal from the grains received or bought from the agricultural cooperatives in keeping with the law and in conformity with the work performed and with the production they have achieved, as well as from the crops harvested from private plots of land. Personnel working at state agricultural units, at people's councils, in educational, medical, cultural, trade units at post and telecommunication offices, service units and other such units located in the commune shall be supplied with bread, flour and cornmeal within the limit of quantities envisaged for the respective locality through the communal bakeries established by people's councils.

To ensure supplies for the members of agricultural production cooperatives and the working personnel and other residents who buy their supplies in rural localities, the agricultural units are obligated, in establishing the production programs for the 1981-82 agricultural year, to plan for a per person consumption up to 150 kilograms of wheat and 30 kilograms corn.

Article 10. Those people who live in hilly and mountainous areas and in other nongrain-growing localities, will be ensured bread, flour and cornmeal by consumer cooperatives and the state stock equaling up to 120-130 kilograms of wheat and 30-40 kilograms of corn.

All residents of rural and urban areas who own agricultural lands in the localities of those areas are obliged to cultivate grains to meet their own consumption needs and to develop potato, meat, milk, cheese, eggs, fruit production as well as other agricultural products to be self-sufficient and to sign contracts and deliver such products to the state stock and to participate to a great extent in the general supply of the people and in exchanges equaling grains.

Article 11. Those citizens who obtain their supplies in keeping with the provisions of the present decree in rural localities and wish to produce bread in their own household can receive the necessary flour to make an equal amount of bread.

Article 12. The city people's councils are obligated to take measures so that the state and cooperative trade units will sell bread, flour and cornmeal to those citizens who reside in or are working in units in the respective locality. Those persons who are in certain cities from time to time may buy bread for their immediate needs. In big cities, people's councils may designate centers for the sale or supply of bread, flour and cornmeal to people in the respective area to ensure a smooth sale, to avoid crowds and travel by people.

Article 13. The purchase of bread or other farinaceous product to be used as fodder for animals is an offense and shall be punished in keeping with the law.

Article 14. The Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the central union of consumer cooperatives and people's councils shall take measures to diversify farinaceous products, to achieve better-quality products so as to better meet the people's consumption needs.

Those localities in which there are no bakeries shall be attached to bakeries in neighboring localities which are obligated to ensure the necessary bread quantities in keeping with the norms stipulated in the present decree through the consumer cooepative units.

To ensure quality bread production in rural areas under efficient conditions, the people's councils and the National Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives and the Central Union of Consumer Cooperatives shall take measures to develop -- during 1982-1983 -- the production capacities of bakeries, so that they shall meet the bread requirements of the respective population.

Article 15. The supplying of bread, flour and cornmeal to workers cafeterias, public foodstores and other collective consumer goods units shall be carried out on the basis of rational consumption norms worked out for those units. The quantities shall be distributed for counties in keeping with the number of patrons in workers' cafeterias, the number of children, pupils and students in nurseries, kindergartens, hostels and cafeterias and in keeping with the number of hospital patients and the number of tourists that can be accommodated in resort areas.

Article 16. In conformity with legal provisions, grains cannot be the object of private trade. Members of agricultural production cooperatives and private agricultural producers may sell grains from their own production in keeping with the prices stipulated by the law.

Article 17. Nonobservance of the provisions of the present decree will entail disciplinary, material, civilian, contraventional or penal accountability.

The decree is signed by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

JARUZELSKI REPLACES KANIA AS PZPR FIRST SECRETARY

AU182025 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] As reported by Poland's press agency, PAP, the fourth plenary session of the PZPR Central Committee was held in Warsaw. The session examined the current political situation in the country, the stage of implementation of the PZPR's Ninth Extraordinary Congress decisions, and the party's political-ideological tasks. The plenary session adopted a decision on the establishment of a commission in charge of working out the party's program for the future. It also adopted a program decision which, in light of an analysis of the socioeconomic situation, features tasks for all party members, bodies and organizations.

At the session, Stanislaw Kania asked the plenary session to relieve him of the post of first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. The request was complied with by the Central Committee. Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee.

FOREIGN MINISTER RECEIVES EAGLEBURGER 18 OCT

AU182008 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1740 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 18 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Romanian Foreign Minister Stefan Andrei had an interview on October 18 with Lawrence Eagleburger, U.S. undersecretary of state for European affairs, now visiting Romania.

They discussed aspects of further diversification and deepening of the Romanian-American bilateral relations, as well as some questions of the international political life. Views were exchanged in this context on disarmament, security and cooperation in Europe and on other matters of mutual interest.

David B. Funderburk, U.S. ambassador to Bucharest, attended.

DOBRESCU, SOVIET PLANNING OFFICIALS HOLD TALKS

AU162027 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1915 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Moscow, 16 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Emilian Dobrescu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, deputy prime minister, chairman of the State Planning Committee, now visiting Moscow, had talks on October 15 and 16 with N.K. Baybakov, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Planning Committee.

Pursuant to talks, a protocol was signed stipulating the further expansion of the collaboration and economic exchanges in machine-building, iron-and-steel industry, crude processing, petrochemistry and consumer goods.

POLAND'S FIRST SECRETARY KANIA RESIGNS

Replaced by Jaruzelski

AU181713 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, Polish premier and minister of defense, was elected first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee this afternoon. INTERPRES, the government news agency, has announced that General Jaruzelski was elected to this position following the resignation of Stanislaw Kania, hitherto first secretary, at the fourth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee in Warsaw.

Kania's Achievements Praised

LD181934 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1516 GMT 18 Oct 81

[By TANJUG's Warsaw correspondent Zoran Zlatanovic]

[Text] Warsaw, 18 Oct (TANJUG) -- Stanislaw Kania is no longer first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. This afternoon, at the fourth plenum of the Central Committee, he submitted his resignation, which was accepted.

Kania took over the leadership of the party last year at a time when Poland was experiencing exceptionally grave moments. Now, after 403 days of leading the party, he leaves the party's top position in just as grave and complex time for Poland.

By accepting the resignation, the Central Committee decided to take the road of change in the top party leadership in its further search for a way out of the crisis which not only the country but the party also faces. The top party leadership has been severely criticized in the past few days. The criticism also applied to Kania who, 3 months earlier at the extraordinary party congress, received the practically undivided support of the delegates at elections, the democratic character of which the party itself had not known up to then in its history of over 3 decades.

However, that was a time when in the whole of Polish society, and not only in the party, Kania also enjoyed support as a personality who, in such an exceptionally stormy time of the deep Polish crisis, succeeded in saving the party from a split, in strengthening its ranks at the grass roots and, despite attempts to the contrary, in bringing to a conclusion the preparations for the extraordinary congress and holding this congress. Stanislaw Kania did not operate alone along this course but his service in this was exceptional.

When the time of the daily reportage of current Polish events becomes history, history will certainly add another merit to Kania, undoubtedly the greatest and the most lasting in the course of his brief leadership of the party, the policy which he himself introduced in Poland's political life.

This policy has been popularly described here for months already as the line of agreement-reaching and partner-like dialogue. Since last fall, from the time Kania took over the leadership of the party, this political principle has been the supreme one. One can hardly believe that this policy could now be dead and buried, even though there are forces who want just that.

But when the circumstances are grave and complex, when the time has become (serious), as now in Poland, there is no time to think of merits or even of mistakes. The search for solutions always comes to the fore. Poland needs this more than ever at this point in time. There has, therefore, been talk on several occasions about Kania's departure. It was he who promoted the line of the so-called socialist renewal in October last year. That line has never been fully clearly defined but Poland is already reaping its fruits.

In a year, a truly new Poland has emerged. Social democracy has grown deep roots. The internal party life has changed. If one can now speak of the party's democratization then it should be said that it has become a reality at the party's grass roots. The grass roots of society, on one hand, have wanted these changes to progress more speedily and more efficiently. On the other hand, conservative forces have believed that they are losing the ground under their feet through this democratization. Kania and his followers, who behaved in all this as men walking the tightrope with umbrellas in their hands, had to endure all this dissatisfaction, both from those who believed that too much had been allowed to get out of hand, and from those who stuck to their conviction that more could have been achieved along the road of the declared socialist renewal.

Kania, who always radiated optimism, now leaves the party's helm. He and the most inner-party leadership are reproached for not being efficient enough in implementing the policy which, on the basis of this socialist renewal, was (?adopted) in the form of a program by the party's extraordinary congress in July this year.

Wojciech Jaruzelski, the premier and minister of national defense, now replaces Kania as the head of the party. Observers believe that with his election the continuity of Poland's post-August policy is safeguarded, that all the gains for which this country and its working class have successfully fought since the summer of 1980 and which they confirmed in the decisions of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, are preserved.

Kania Report to PZPR Session

LD171016 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2108 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 16 Oct (TANJUG) -- Polish party First Secretary Kania today blamed the Solidarity trade union, particularly its "right trends," for virtually all economic, social and other difficulties in Poland." "It is no secret that the union (Solidarity) is becoming a field of the penetration of the extreme rightist forces...forces which do not conceal that their goal is the toppling of socialism," Kania said.

In the report submitted at the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee session, which opened today, Kania said that the rightist trends are obstructing all government's efforts for a way out of the crisis. Referring to the recent Solidarity congress, Kania said that a series of the congress decisions" represent a gross interference in the constitutional power of the organs of authority and in the internal affairs of the fraternal socialist countries." The Solidarity congress tried to place in question Poland's commitment to socialism and its membership in the socialist community, Kania said.

Under the slogan of a vaugely defined self-management republic, Solidarity plans actually to topple socialism in Poland, Kania said. The Solidarity congress, he added, placed the strongest accent at the ideological level on "negating the achievements of People's Poland," Kania noted.

In his report, Kania (?cited) figures illustrating the grave economic situation in the country. He said that it is a fact that Poland's national income has dropped by one-fourth since 1977. He proposed that the right to strike be limited during the fall and winter, that a government-trade union commission for anti-crisis action be formed, the stabilization programme modified and a series of other measures taken for stabilizing the economic situation.

Kania criticised also certain phenomena in party life.

The Warsaw PUWP Committee attacked as is known, on the eve of the Central Committee session criticized the party leadership for wavering, inconsistency and lack of resolve in the implementation of the 9th congress decisions.

On the other hand, some of the party organizations, including the Torun University committee, assessed that the party activity has paralysed the efforts of the conservative forces which want to return the party to the "pre-August period." These forces, as noted, want to divert the party from the line of consultations to reach agreement.

Comment on Leadership Change

AU181953 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Ilija Marinkovic special report from Warsaw]

[Text] The Polish party got a new leader today. After a very sharp discussion on the dramatic situation in the country lasting 3 days at a Central Committee plenum, Army Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski was elected new first secretary. Like 8 months ago, when he accepted the office of premier, this politician of an exemplary military bearing and untarnished past again accepted a burden of great responsibility at one of the most critical moments of a growingly unstable situation in Poland.

Stanislaw Kania, former first secretary, submitted his resignation after lack of confidence was expressed at the plenum in the ability of the Politburo and the Secretariat to lead the Polish party and country out of the crisis. Kania's resignation was accepted with some reluctance and reservations. Only a little more than half of the Central Committee members voted in favor.

Although he rarely stood out in public, Stanislaw Kania was known as a champion of a peaceful political solution of disputes. He was nevertheless blamed for insufficient determination and excessive tolerance toward the revived activities of opposition currents and toward the extremist forces in the Solidarity trade union.

On the other hand, his introductory report at the present plenum was criticized for its one-sided appraisal of the Solidarity congress and its tendency to blame the new trade union for all economic and political troubles in Poland.

Jaruzelski's election does not signify a change in the basic political course. It is known that this general, as defense minister and Politburo member in Gierek's team, was one of the members of the top leadership who opposed a violent suppression of workers' unrest last August. Jaruzelski has remained faithful up to this day to the line of dialogue and agreement, and in addition, as premier, he is the initiator of deep social and economic reforms, including the development of workers self-management.

The fourth plenum of the PZPR Central Committee today also adopted a program decision on the tasks of the party and state in the struggle to overcome the crisis. An appeal was sent by the session to the working masses of towns and villages, which, as is pointed out, was dictated by a feeling of responsibility for the fate of the country and the economy. It is only through the reasonable and joint efforts of all society that the dramatic course of events in our country can be stopped, it is said in the appeal, which was unanimously adopted at the conclusion of the 3-day session.

U.S. MILITARY MOVES IN MIDDLE EAST SCORED

AU171625 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] The practice of superpowers to utilize every new crisis to strengthen their military influence continues. This is the title of today's military commentary by Stanislav Ocokoljic.

Judging by the quickly undertaken military measures -- not only direct measures but also wider and long-term measures in the Middle East area -- it appears that the United States is trying very hard to utilize the assassination of Egyptian President as-Sadat to further strengthen its military influence not only in Egypt but also wider afield in the area.

The current placing of elements of the Rapid Deployment Force from the army and the naval units in the Mediterranean in a state of increased alert indicates that, compared with previous years, the U.S. Armed Forces have improved their readiness to react rapidly in this and similar crises. In addition to exerting general political pressure by their direct presence in the crisis area, the [word indistinct] forces, together with the air force and the marines -- which have been put on alert on this occasion -- have been trained to extend by their direct deployment a specific military assistance to a politcal regime that is favorably inclined toward the United States.

In addition, this crisis has been utilized for a significant intensification of the U.S.-Egyptian military cooperation, which had already been greatly developed, particularly since the Camp David agreements. This intensification of cooperation has been manifested by accelerating the deliveries of U.S. arms, by planning an expansion of these deliveries and by increasing the preparations for the permanent American military presence on Egyptian territory, that is, through the joint forces for the future supervision of the Egyptian-Israeli border, through joint maneuvers and through joint expanded air reconnaissance.

Parallel measures to strengthen Egypt's regional military links with certain neighboring countries confirm the already publicly proclaimed U.S. maximal interest in this region which has resulted from the lost positions in Iran and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. The military measures being taken now are part of the American regional strategic goal to build in this circular area, whose center lies in the Suez Canal and the Red Sea, a particularly strong military bastion within the framework of its spheres of interest outside the American and European Continents, but closely linked with them.

The Soviet Government's official statement that with these acts the United States is exerting gross pressure on a sovereign state was rejected by the American side with the explanation that these acts only represent an expression of friendship and of the American-Egyptian state cooperation, along with the comment recalling Afghanistan and Poland. In recent years, it has become the custom of the superpowers that when crises erupt within their spheres of interest, they very rapidly undertake a wide military involvement, including direct military intervention in various forms. The mutual verbal accusations that with these acts the sovereignty of the independent states are undermined, or rather their attempts to justify these interventions by means of alleged friendship and cooperation, cannot conceal the real intention of the superpowers to utilize every new crisis for the further strengthening and expansion of their military influence.

TALKS ON COOPERATION WITH ROMANIA OPEN 18 OCT

LD181836 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1701 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Oct (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav-Romanian talks on economic and scientific-technical cooperation opened in Belgrade today.

The talks are held within the framework of the Yugoslav-Romanian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation. The respective delegations are headed by Yugoslav Foreign Trade Secretary Metod Rotar and Romanian Deputy Prime Minister Nicolae Constantin, who arrived here yesterday evening.

During their talks, the Yugoslav and Romanian economic delegations will discuss various questions of Yugoslav-Romanian trade and analyze the implementation of tasks under the long-term agreement on economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries.

The two delegations will devote particular attention to the preparation of concrete programmes of cooperation through the specialization of production and division of labor in shipbuilding and the petro-chemical, electronics, iron and steel [word indistinct] and other industries.

VHROVEC, ITALY'S COLOMBO OPEN BORDER CROSSING

LD181902 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1651 GMT 18 Oct 81

[Text] Nova Gorica, 18 Oct (TANJUG) -- Yugoslav Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Josip Vrhovec and Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo today formally opened to traffic a new border crossing on the Yugoslav-Italian border.

Vrtojba-Standrez near Nova Gorica is the tenth border crossing on the 172-km-long border between the two countries.

Speaking at the ceremony, Vrhovec stated that the Yugoslav-Italian border was among the most open ones in Europe. Cooperation between the people on either side of the border had contributed to the border line virtually not being felt at all.

Noting the highly varied cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy, Vrhovec said that in a period fraugnt with threats to the world peace, the two countries' contribution to stability in this region is of great significance for the normalization of conditions in Europe generally. Vrhovec stressed the importance which the Osimo agreements have for the development of cooperation between the two countries and said that Yugoslavia and Italy "have been realistic enough to overcome the old and unpleasant legacy in the interest of a more secure and better future of living together on this important European cross-roads."

Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo, pointing out the importance of the Osimo agreement for relations between the two countries, said the new door on their border will enable an even larger trade, closer contacts and more effective broader cooperation. [Words indistinct] Yugoslav-Italian road to peace and stability based on the decades-long good-neighbourly relations, concluded Colombo.

After the ceremony, the two foreign ministers had an exchange of views in Gorizia on some questions of the world situation and bilateral relations. After the talks, Colombo stated that certain questions of the implementation of the Osimo agreements, notably construction of the projects of infrastructure, had also been discussed.

SERGEJ KRAIGHER INTERVIEWED ON CANCUN SUMMIT

LD172250 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 17 Oct 81

[Text] Zagreb, 17 October (TANJUG) -- The meeting of the representatives of 22 countries in Cancun is motivated mainly by the justified concern in the world today about the existing international political and economic situation and difficulties with which almost all countries are struggling, stated President of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Sergej Kraigher in an interview to Zagreb television. Kraigher will head the Yugoslav delegation to the Cancun summit.

He stated that the peoples of the world are concerned with good reason. They look to the future with apprehension, in view of the current economic trends in the world and the course of economic developments in their own countries.

The crisis of detente has contributed to the worsening of economic conditions in the world, Kraigher stated.

"I believe, and this is also the general opinion that the weakening of detente in recent years and the aggravation of relations between the two blocs and superpowers indicate that the settlement of substantive problems in international economic relations, in relations between the developed and developing countries is subordinated to political interests and problems of the blocs," he said. It is precisely the arms race that uses the most precious resources and preoccupies the most capable personnel, especially in developed countries.

The development of economic relations in the developing countries ("the South") and the developed ones ("the North") is a vital component and condition for the settlement of economic problems every country struggles with, said Kraigher.

If settlement of the economic problems confronting the broadest masses in all countries were given priority, if this were to become an international economic policy and if conditions for cooperation on the basis of equality between the developed and developing countries were established, this would create a new atmosphere of international confidence, a need for negotiation, Kraigher stated.

"In this sense, the political importance of Cancun also lies in the fact that it is a new factor, a new moment," said Kraigher. Important too are the talks opened between the United States and the Soviet Union in which negotiation is gaining weight by creating the conditions for gradual disarmament instead of the arms race.

Kraigher expressed the view that the work of Willy Brandt's independent commission of experts was important in preparations for Cancun, although the commission's report revealed nothing new.

Meeting of the industrialised countries' heads of state at which, despite all vacillation presented the view that it is worth going to Cancun to try and find conditions for the opening global negotiations should not be underestimated either, Kraigher said.

The nonaligned countries' meeting in Caracas and the preparations made by the underdeveloped countries belonging to the Group of 77 were also useful in preparing Cancun.

This means that the preparations for Cancun has mobilised a multitude of forces, thus pointing out the fact that all programs have been markedly exacerbated and that they have manifested themselves in all their gravity and interdependence.

Speaking of the need for introducing the new economic order, the president of the Presidency of Yugoslavia recalled that the non-aligned countries had been initiators of such an order. He also said that when global negotiations are concerned, industrialization and the transfer of technology are of great importance as a condition for the development of developing countries in general. Essential, too, is the development of agriculture in these countries, in terms of the strengthening of their own capacities for food production.

It is illogical and absurd, noted Kraigher, that the developing countries, which receive equipment and technology from developed countries, should meet with insurmountable barriers when they try to export to these countries the products they manufactured on this basis.

Because of the inability of underdeveloped countries to sell their products, problems of the payment of debts in the countries which have received technology are becoming more acute. For their part, the developed countries make the payment of these debts more difficult, thus depriving themselves of the possibility of further sale of their products to developing countries.

As a result, umemployment and other problems emerge in developing countries.

The awareness of the importance of self-reliance is growing in developing and in all non-aligned countries, stated Kraigher. This is one of the essential characteristics of the intentions of the new economic order.

Kragiher also stated that many problems resulting from the slowdown and hampering of global negotiations were, in a definite way, reflected also in Yugoslav problems. Involved were the problems with which Yugoslavia deals when seeking a way out of the current inflations, economic instability and balance-of-payments difficulties.

President Kraigher, who will head the Yugoslav delegation to Cancun, said that the summit will give him an opportunity to meet a number of heads of state or government of the countries attending the meeting.

We expect above all an adjustment of stands and the pursuit of possibilities, to the best of everyone's ability, for the best possible outcome of the Cancun summit especially with regard to decisions concerning the global negotiations and specifying their content and the weight of some problems in as much detail as possible.

In Cancun, the Yugoslav delegation will have an opportunity to discuss many questions of bilateral relations with other participants. We have highly developed, friendly relations with each of the participating countries and we meet with their representatives in many international forums within the framework of our joint endeavours to contribute to measures to strengthen international cooperation on the basis of equality, Kraigher concluded.

KRAIGHER CHAIRS ECONOMIC COMMISSION SESSION

AU162024 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 16 Oct 81

[Text] A session of the Commission for Economic Stabilization of the federal and social councils was held in Belgrade under the chairmanship of Sergej Kraigher, president of the SFRY Presidency. The federal budget for next year was discussed. It was decided that the federal budget's expenditures could increase next year in accordance with the increase in the social product, although it was proposed to the Federal Executive Council to examine the possibilities for the further reduction of the federal budget. Here is a report by Dusan Djordjevic:

In an introductory speech, Petar Kostic, federal secretary for finance, said that the federal budget is the smallest mathematical operation. [as received] What is involved is a vital segment of the economic policy. The general and common expenditures are outside the influence of direct producers, yet they account for 38 percent of the social product. What is involved, therefore, are significant funds whose destiny is outside the scope of those who create them.

Next year, it is expected that the social product will total 2,600 billion dinars, of which some 990 billion dinars will be allotted for general and common expenditures. The federal budget is the largest single element of this expenditure. The expenditures for defense, veterans and care for the war-disabled and for the underdeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo make up 89 percent of the federal budget. The administration costs only 6 percent. The Federal Executive Council, however, assesses that the budget must nonetheless be reduced. A much stronger economy could not support such expenditures.

If the letter of the law on financing the federal budget were respected -- this law lays down the rights of those receiving funds -- the federal budget should total some 227 billion dinars, or 35 percent more than it will have this year.

The Federal Executive Council also prepared another variant, according to which the budgetary expenditures could increase as much as the social product. In this case, the federal budget would have some 207 billion dinars at its disposal, or 23 percent more than it will have this year.

The discussion on the federal budget also encouraged a debate on expenditures in the society as a whole. The unanimous assessment and demand was that in the present economic situation, it is indispensable to examine all the rights of the beneficiaries of the federal budget. Some 41 billion dinars have to be allocated for the veterans and care of the disabled next year. In this connection it was said that the number of veterans has increased as much as 30,000 after the law on providing the evidence on veterans' service was adopted. Views were expressed that this item be transferred from the federal budget to the republics and provinces. It was also said that in the future no rights could be established in an autonomous manner and independent of the society's and economy's capabilities. In fact, no funds should be set aside in advance for any purpose without first foreseeing the available revenue.

Naturally, this does not apply to the federal budget but also to the republican and provincial budgets and to the communal budgets. To this end, the Commission for Economic Stabilization decided that all budgetary expenditures in the country should be examined and brought in line with the economy's material possibilities. It was also decided to examine the costs of the veterans and care for the war-disabled and to reduce them if possible. The expenditures of the federal budget for the underdeveloped republics and the Province of Kosovo must be revised, while after 1982 these rights, too, should be reexamined.

The commission also believes that the existence of certain institutions on all levels should be thoroughly investigated. These institutions represent a significant burden for the economy, while their existence does not contribute to resolving the difficulties in society but, on the contrary, constitutes a burden for the economy. This, naturally, calls for examining the entire social and state organization. The basis organizations of associated labor which, according to some, have a large administrative apparatus and whose expenditures are, in fact, the largest, will be a target of examination.

The commission also adopted the conclusions from yesterday's debate on the balance of payments. It was decided that next year the payments deficit should be reduced to the maximum possible extent, while the tendency should be to eliminate it. This implies a more aggressive export policy, which was given the broadest support by the commission. On the basis of this decision, the Federal Executive Council will propose the country's balance of payments for 1982.

LEADERS ATTEND CELEBRATION IN TITOVO UZICE

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[Text] With a large rally in Partisan Square, Titovo Uzice has formally celebrated the 40th anniversary of the uprising and of the socialist revolution of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia as well as the 40th anniversary of Comrade Tito's arrival, together with the supreme headquarters, to the liberated territory of the Uzice Republic. About 30,000 citizens and working people, pioneers and young people and members of the Yugoslav People's Army attended the celebration of the Titovo Uzice area in observing these anniversaries of the glorious Uzice Republic. Petar Stambolic, vice president of the Yugoslav Presidency, was today handed the Uzice Republic Charter. This great recognition is given by the Titovo Uzice Municipal Assembly in connection with 24 September, the day of the liberation. So far this recognition has been awarded to Comrades Tito and Kardelu. Nikola Ljubicic, Milos Minic, Milojko Drulovic and representatives of the political, economic and cultural life of the region and of the Titovo Uzice Municipality attended the handing of the Titovo Uzice Charter to Petar Stambolic.